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DIRECTIVES FOR RESCUE OPERATIONS IN CASE OF COMBINED NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL ATTACK

Rescue Operations in Combined Strike Centers

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1980 pp 8-12

[Article by Col Iliya Dimov]

[Text] Loyal to the militaristic spirit of imperialism, the military and political leaders of NATO-member countries, of the U.S. in particular, are dedicating constant efforts and spending huge funds on improving their armed forces and equipping them with new modern weaponry and combat equipment. They pay particular attention to the development and advancement of mass destruction weapons which have tremendous destructive and annihilating power, and to the means for their utilization. That is why a modern war, if imposed upon us, would be inconceivable without always taking into consideration the impact of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons on the combat capability of the troops and on the population and the national economy.

A war, unleashed by the imperialist countries, would necessitate the implementation of civil defense measures in exceptionally complex circumstances, particularly following the use of mass destruction weapons. We may expect the appearance of stricken areas on the territories of okrugs (obshtinas). Some of them may be combined.

We shall consider in this article the organization and conduct of rescue operations in combined strike centers resulting from radioactive, chemical and biological contamination.

The centers of a combined strike would consist of a territory with its targets (settlements, GO [Civil Defense] formations and national economic sites) within which a combined contamination has been detected: chemical and biological; radioactive and biological; or radioactive, chemical and biological. They would cause serious damages to the population, farm animals, plants, food products, feeds, water and the soil.

Radioactive contamination plays a particular role among the striking factors of a nuclear explosion. Within a short time, zones with a strong, dangerous or exceptionally dangerous contamination will be created in areas dozens or even hundreds of kilometers distant from the center of the explosion.

Chemical weapons as well will develop a situation of severe and dangerous contamination in some areas within a short period of time. Its concentrations of lethal substances may cause deadly or severe damages to the population, the formation's personnel and the animals. Areas contaminated with nerve-paralysis toxic substances will be the most dangerous. In such areas it would take no more than a few minutes for the personnel to be affected.

Biological weapons as well have a number of characteristics which define their striking action: high effectiveness--small doses will trigger high mortality; durability of effect, ranging from several weeks to several months; epidemics--the presence of an incubation period which would make it difficult and slow to identify the type of biological weapon used; combined application of various agents, and others.

The combined effect of striking factors of radioactive contamination and of chemical and biological weapons will require the conduct of rescue operations under exceptionally complex circumstances. Extensive and different specific tasks will have to be carried out: comprehensive measures to isolate the stricken areas; prophylactic treatment of rescue formations, the population and the animals with specific medicinal preparations; sanitary processing of the personnel and the population and veterinary processing of the animals, taking into consideration the possibility of a combined contamination; simultaneous degasification, deactivation and disinfection of roads, sectors (the territory), protective installations, transport facilities and equipment; immediate evacuation of the population and the animals from areas affected by exceptionally dangerous or dangerous radioactive and chemical contamination to uncontaminated areas or within the biological center, should part of it fall also within the areas of radioactive and chemical contamination; supplying formation personnel with individual comprehensive protection facilities, and so on.

The successful implementation of the measures will depend on the availability of special-purpose and training formations and the availability of general purpose forces, the protection of the population, formations, animals, food and water warehouses, water sources, and others, organized in peacetime; preparedness of the entire population to act and, not least, the training and organizational abilities of the command personnel and the GO staffs and services.

The rescue operation methods applied in OKP [Combined Strike Centers] directly depend on the circumstances, nature and components of the combined strike centers. The population, formations and animals located in areas with biological contamination are left in their settlements (rayons). Strict quarantine measures are organized and rescue activities undertaken. They are immediately evacuated from high-level radiation areas unless they have been found in installations which reduce radiation levels. Areas contaminated with toxic substances must be evacuated immediately. Such evacuation is faster, for the areas contaminated by such substances are relatively smaller.

Should the circumstances on the territory of the obshtina (okrug) not permit the evacuation of the contaminated area, measures are taken for the immediate use of individual protective means, engineering systems and settlement buildings. In order to increase the resistance of the personnel to the effects of toxic substances, antidotes are used as indicated by the respective chiefs (commanders) or independently, whenever the initial contamination symptoms become apparent.

Rescue operations in combined strike centers are organized in accordance with their nature and carried out within maximally short periods, uninterruptedly, day and night, until their completion. This demands of staff and services organization and efficiency, and of the formation personnel, high mental strength, physical stamina and the mobilization of all efforts toward the prompt implementation of assignments.

The decision to engage in rescue operations in combined strike centers on the territory of the okrug (obshtina) is made by the corresponding civil defense chief within a short time. For this reason, starting in peacetime, staffs and services must become well acquainted with the circumstances on the territory of the okrug (obshtina) and the possibilities of their formations to carry out complex assignments, and to organize and continuously engage in radiation, chemical and biological reconnaissance.

The creation of a group of forces and facilities and the definition of its tasks in rescue operations play an important role in the decision of the GO commander, for no such groups are set up in peacetime. In some cases several groups of personnel with means, different in terms of structure and assignments, may be required in a single combined center. Medical formations are the basis of such groups. More specifically, they must include reconnaissance personnel, order and security detachments, rescue formations, sanitation units, specialized medical aid teams, an anti-epidemics detachment and others, depending on the nature of the strike (see diagram). The objective must be to use in the combined center, involving biological contamination, forces and facilities drawn mainly from the area of the biological contamination area. Studies of such contamination areas have indicated that reconnaissance forces require the organization of temporary reconnaissance detachments (including reconnaissance patrols for general reconnaissance and reconnaissance groups and sections of the medical, ZZhR services and others). Joint reconnaissance makes the best implementation of assignments possible and insures the timely communication of reconnaissance data to the respective staffs.

Usually the GO chief of the obshtina or of one of the municipalities within the contaminated area is appointed head of the group in charge of rescue operations in a biologically contaminated area. This is based on the fact that the elimination of this center will take longer and that, meanwhile, population activities in quarantined settlements must be insured. The GO chief is also put in charge of rescue operations should combined strike areas develop, i.e., should some of the area of the biological center become included in an area with radioactive and (or) chemical contamination. The senior formation commander of the forces assigned to conduct rescue operations is appointed chief of the group in charge of rescue operations in a combined strike center developed as a result of radioactive and chemical contamination.

In accordance with the assignment and the evaluation of the circumstances, the group chief must make a decision on assigning manpower and determining means for the conduct of rescue operations and the site on which the main effort will be focused; the assignments of reconnaissance organs and the procedure and forces needed for quarantining and isolating the stricken area; the areas and the time needed for the deployment of medical formations; the tasks of rescue formations for the detection and evacuation of the contaminated population; the procedure for sanitary treatment; the tasks of the forces and facilities for degasification (disinfection); the procedure and time for the distribution of antidotes to formation personnel; the initiation of rescue operations; the admissible radiation level and the location of the command post. While issuing assignments to their subordinates, the chiefs of GO and of the groups in charge of rescue operations and the formation commanders must also indicate the means of action in stricken areas.

Rescue operations in combined strike centers are based on the decision made by the respective commanders. The initial data established through reconnaissance concerning the existence of contamination are reported to the obshtina, okrug and national staffs. Immediately afterwards, the staffs (services) assign reconnaissance organs of the center of the stricken area and the areas where contamination with radioactive and toxic substances is presumed. On the basis of the initial specific data the chiefs of staffs and services evaluate (forecast) the radiation, chemical and biological circumstances.

The assessment of the overall situation leads to the drawing of general conclusions needed for decision making by the corresponding chief. The more important among them may be the following:

determining the settlements, economic targets and formations directly contaminated and the probable area of contamination after a certain period of time;

defining the condition of the settlements and areas with formations in which the most severe circumstances have been created;

determining the size of damages in combined strike areas;

determining the necessary forces and facilities needed for rescue operation;

earmarking urgent measures for aid to the population, the formation personnel and the livestock, measures for restoring the usability of food and fodder and measures for determining the work regimen in industrial enterprises and agriculture in these areas.

On this basis the okrug (obshtina) GO chiefs make their decisions and issue assignments to their subordinates.

The most important obligation of the immediate GO commanders in municipalities, sites, agroindustrial complexes and branch farms, after contamination has been established, is the taking of urgent measures to rescue the relevant population (livestock), as follows:

the proper signal must be issued for putting on individual protective means if this has not already been accomplished;

the population (livestock) in the area of a biological contamination, also affected by poison gases or threatened by them, must immediately be evacuated to safe areas within the boundaries of the biological center. Should this prove to be impossible, outside areas must be used. In such cases, such areas must be quarantined;

the population (livestock) subjected simultaneously or sequentially to the effects of dangerous radioactive and chemical contamination or threatened with them must be immediately evacuated to safe areas;

The population (livestock) in the area of a biological center of contamination, either affected by or threatened with dangerous radioactive contamination, must be immediately evacuated to safe areas within the biological center or, should this prove to be impossible, taken to an outside area which, in such case, is quarantined. Should the population and formation personnel within areas with high-level radiation be located in engineering facilities which reduce the radiation level, it would be expedient to wait for a drop in the radiation level;

the population (livestock) in a biological center, subjected to or threatened by a cloud with radioactive and chemical contamination, must be immediately evacuated to safe areas within the biological area; should this be impossible, it must be taken to an outside area which must be quarantined.

The group of forces and facilities will engage in rescue work essentially in two directions: in the contamination center and in the area where the evacuated population (livestock) has been concentrated.

After the reconnaissance detachment, the sanitary units, rescue formations and sanitary transportation facilities are taken into the stricken area. Their task is to find the casualties, help them, and organize their evacuation to safe areas.

The medical service formations and the remaining services are assigned to areas to which the population (livestock) evacuated from the stricken area has been taken, where corresponding work facilities are set up (for medical aid, special processing and others).

The introduction of the formations into the stricken areas and operational procedures within them are defined by the obshtina (okrug) GO commander in accordance with the specific circumstances. The personnel must enter the stricken area wearing individual protection means. Antidotes must be used to increase the personnel's resistance to radioactive radiation (toxic substances).

The stricken area is entered first by the reconnaissance detachment. The patrols and groups (sections) within it define the components within the center of a combined strike, in accordance with the instructions of the detachment's commander, and earmark its boundaries: they determine the level of radiation and concentration of the toxic substance; locate casualties and establish access to them. The detachment also reconnoiters the roads leading to the contaminated center. Such data are immediately transmitted to the chief of the group of forces and means, the commanders of rescue formations and the sanitary units. The reconnaissance organs outside the center establish the areas where medical centers, special processing centers and others are to be organized.

As instructed by the group chief, the order and security teams organize safety measures and do not allow anyone other than members of formations in charge of rescue operations to enter the stricken area. They control traffic along the main roads within the stricken area and to the medical and special processing centers. Subsequently, sanitary units, rescue formations, transport evacuation facilities and Protection of Animals and Plants crews are sent to specific settlements (livestock farms).

Sanitary teams, which interact with the rescue formations, provide first medical aid beginning with children and severe casualties. They locate casualties and direct them to the loading centers. From there, by foot or motor vehicle, they are evacuated to the medical centers outside the stricken areas. Whenever possible, along with giving medical aid, the initial triage of the casualties is conducted within the stricken area.

Rescue operations in settlements within the area of a biological strike center which is also within the zones (areas) affected by radioactive (chemical) contamination are

carried out by the forces within the center. The introduction of new formations for the evacuation of casualties is based on the specific circumstances and is carried out by decision of the okrug (obshtina) GO commander.

Frequently, the difficult circumstances which have developed on the territory of the obshtina (okrug) may seriously affect the introduction of formations into the stricken area. They may have to cross areas with radioactive, chemical or biological contamination. High-level radiation areas must be crossed in one of the following ways: without waiting for a drop in the radiation level; waiting for its drop; following directions along which the personnel will be subjected to the least radiation; or bypassing the contaminated areas if possible.

Areas contaminated with chemical substances and biological contamination centers are bypassed. In all cases, areas with high-level radiation must be crossed while wearing protective means and at a higher speed. Depending on the route, the distance maintained between the engines must be increased in order to avoid the secondary contamination of the machines and formation personnel.

The obshtina and okrug GO services organize comprehensive rescue operations and the protection of the population (the livestock) is maintained after the evacuation into safe areas.

Economic projects, including agricultural facilities, located within a stricken area, must organize their production process and shift work strictly in accordance with the established regimen.

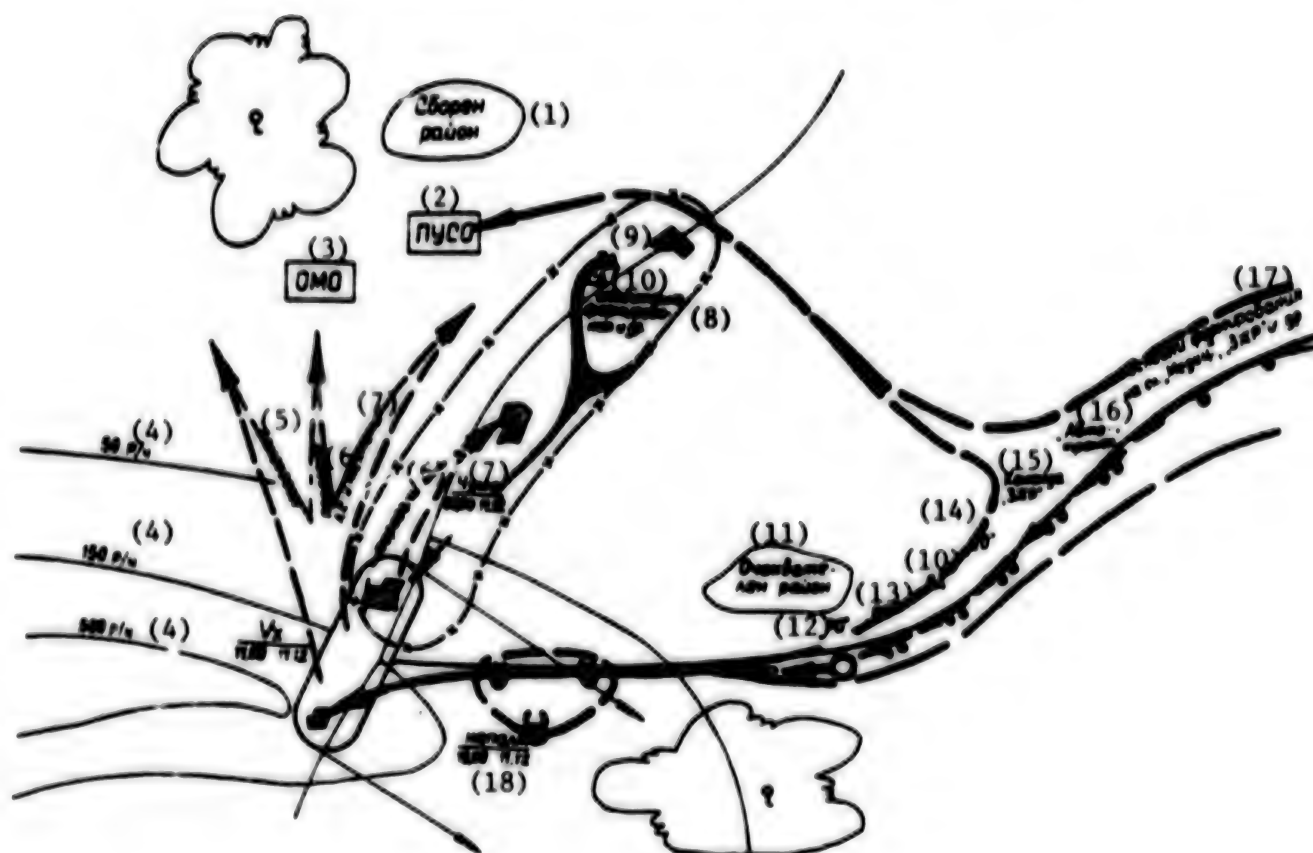
Following the completion of the rescue operations and after a drop in the levels of radioactive and chemical contamination, the commanders, staffs and services organize and carry out measures for the decontamination of water, food, and fodder and watch over crops, cultivated areas and others.

Following the completion of rescue operations, the formations are withdrawn to areas where they may regain their combat readiness.

The obshtina or okrug GO chiefs control rescue operations from the corresponding control centers. If necessary, the chiefs or their deputies, accompanied by small operative groups (mobile control centers), come close to the center of the strike and directly conduct rescue operations. The heads of groups of forces and means set up their command posts in buildings (vehicles). They maintain contact with their subordinates by wire or radio communications.

The organization and conduct of rescue operations in combined strike areas is a complex and responsible assignment of the civil defense organs in protecting the population, workers, employees, farm animals and crops, foodstuffs, fodder, water and soils from the effect of radioactive, chemical and biological contamination. The proper training of the command personnel, the formation, the population and the national economy, starting in peacetime, is an important prerequisite for successful activities in the combined strike center.

Diagram N 2:
Rescue Operations in a Combined Strike Area (Variant)



Key:

1. Assembly area
2. Special decontamination point
3. Medical support detachment
4. Radioactive particles
5. Population
6. Casualties
7. Personnel and equipment
8. Rescue formations and others
9. Reconnaissance patrol
10. Sanitary unit
11. Waiting area
12. Reconnaissance detachment
13. Reconnaissance section
14. Sanitary detachment
15. ZZhR [Livestock and Plant Protection] team
16. Automotive transportation
17. Basic medical, ZZhR and other formations
18. Napalm

Stricter Training Requirements

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1980 pp 13-15

[Article by Col Grozyu Grozev]

[Text] The reactionary circles of the Western capitalist countries, the American imperialists in particular, are constantly drawing up plans for the balking of the detente process. They are openly proclaiming their "new nuclear strategy" and are preparing to impose through force their rule over independent and freedom-loving nations. Unquestionably, should the imperialists succeed in starting a new world war, it inevitably would be a nuclear missile war involving the concentrated and combined use of modern mass destruction weapons. This will create combined strike centers involving exceptionally complex and difficult circumstances which will face the training of civil defense staffs, services and formations with additional requirements.

What is the nature of some of the more important, stricter requirements?

First: we must firmly raise the level of the theoretical training of the personnel of staffs, services and formations and, particularly, of the command personnel. The fast organization and successful conduct of rescue operations in a combined strike center require a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of the combined strike centers, reconnaissance specifics, knowledge of the necessary measures to be taken for their isolation from neighboring areas, knowledge of the structure of medical casualties, sequence and characteristics in providing medical aid, special processing and evacuation of casualties, and knowledge of many other features related to the organization and conduct of rescue operations in such areas.

A detailed study of the nature and type of combined strike centers and of specific activities within them must take place in the course of mandatory programmed training with formations, at study rallies and training classes with services and staffs, separately and in seminars, staff exercises, command-staff exercises, and so on.

Theoretical knowledge of such matters may be expanded and increased also by attending conferences, symposiums and meetings, viewing and discussing suitable films and articles, and others.

Civil defense courses play a particular role in upgrading the theoretical training of command personnel and the specialists. In the course of lectures and group training classes attended by various categories of students, the instructors must describe the nature and features of combined strike centers and the most effective ways and means for the conduct of rescue operations, the utilization and activities of various formations and technical facilities, the characteristic features of decisions, instructions and orders issued by commanders, and so on.

Second: Staffs, services and commanders must improve their ability rapidly to find their way in complex circumstances, make proper and expedient decisions, promptly issue them to their subordinates and organize their execution. This is possible only when the personnel of such staffs and services and formation commanders have been trained and armed with the necessary knowledge, when the administrative organs have been fully set up, and when all prerequisites exist for improving their ability to make a profound assessment of the circumstances in a stricken area, make prompt and proper decisions and organize their execution.

This can be achieved only through systematic and well-prepared staff training exercises--individual or joint--as well as through active participation in planned command-staff exercises.

Third: in the course of the training process the GO staffs, services and formations must engage in rescue operations in combined strike centers; organize the rapid evacuation of workers, employees and casualties from areas with radioactive and chemical contamination to noncontaminated areas within the quarantined zone and supply the formation personnel with individual protective means; organize quarantine measures and carry out the necessary set of measures to isolate the stricken area from unaffected neighboring settlements; organize first medical aid, sanitary and veterinary processing of people and animals and decontamination of foodstuffs, fodder and water without allowing the spreading of biological agents, toxins, combat gases and radioactive substances among uncontaminated people, livestock or areas. In this respect the staff, services and formations may acquire the necessary training only through well-prepared civil defense exercises conducted in a complex environment.

Fourth: Mastering to perfection the methods for the organization and continuing interaction among the different formations operating within the stricken area and steadily maintaining such interaction throughout the duration of rescue operations. Coordinated activities among the forces and facilities introduced in the stricken area in terms of target, place and time, are of exceptional importance for the successful and fast completion of rescue operations.

Continuing interaction can be achieved by establishing permanent control by staff and services over the implementation of orders and instructions, maintaining permanent contacts and promptly informing subordinates of change in the circumstances, knowledge of interaction signals and the adoption of timely measures for the restoration of such interaction should it be disturbed.

Interaction among the different formations introduced into the stricken area is organized by the commander of the work sector and consists of coordinating the fast and successful implementation of assignments.

Another feature of essential importance is the ability of the commander to organize the interaction among formation subunits and between the formation and attached forces and facilities directly at the place of operations by issuing brief instructions on problems not covered when assignments were issued.

Staffs, services and formation commanders can acquire and improve this skill in the course of civil defense training and exercises conducted by obshtinas and economic projects.

Fifth: The stricter requirements facing the training of staffs, services and formations, caused by the characteristics of the combined strike centers, are expressed in their increased skill and that of the commanders in controlling the forces and facilities under their command.

As the basic control organs, assisted by the services, the staffs must use all possible ways and means for the constant and persistent gathering of data on the circumstances in the stricken area. They must observe changes in meteorological conditions and their influence on the implementation of assignments; they must submit suggestions for decision making, issue preliminary orders to subordinate staffs and formations, promptly organize control and communications centers, control the implementation of assignments and others.

The CO staffs and services control the actions of subordinate formations, observe the work regimen and procedures, supervise the observance of measures for the protection and safety of formation personnel; if necessary, and in accordance with the decision of the civil defense chief, they redeploy forces and facilities among sectors (targets); they supply the formations with materials and information; they record the work done and personnel casualties and report it to the superior staff on the course of the implementation of assignments.

The formation commander controls the subunits from his command center (KP) which must be located in the most important sector for rescue operations and in a place from which he could most reliably communicate with and control the subunits. The formation commander reports to the senior commander the location of the command post.

Mobile command posts of OKrug and obastina staffs, which must strictly observe safety measures and regimens, will play an important role in combined strike areas.

The ability of staffs, services, chiefs and commanders to organize the successful implementation of such activities is the result of systematic and extensive preparations and training acquired through participation in classwork, training, exercises and others.

Sixth: mastering and improving means for the material and technical support of formation activities in a combined strike center.

In such centers as well the principles governing material and technical support remain the same. They are focused on supplying the formations with the necessary facilities for antichemical, medical and veterinary protection, communications facilities, radiation and chemical equipment, instruments and transport facilities, food, water and others. However, other characteristics may develop based on the nature of the center. Thus, for example, the material and technical support organs must observe the strict quarantine regimen; they must plan and implement measures for controlling the degree of contamination of food products, fodder and water; organize the simultaneous degasification, disinfection and deactivation of vehicles and equipment; organize the formation personnel assigned to conduct rescue operations in the combined strike center, supply them with the necessary special necessary equipment, and others.

The skill of staffs, services and commanders in organizing and successfully providing material support to formations operating in a combined strike center is achieved through systematic training and well-organized tactical-special and comprehensive exercises, practice training, classroom studies and others.

Seventh: They will be expressed in the need decisively to upgrade the mental training and stamina of personnel of staffs, services and formations in conducting rescue operations in combined strike centers. This is dictated by the difficult circumstances which will be created in such centers and the condition of the casualties where the shock and severe toxic harm to the body will dominate the clinical picture of medical casualties, for contagious diseases will be spreading very rapidly with exceptionally heavy symptoms and consequences caused by the lowered resistance of the human body. All this will affect the psychology of troops and commanders in rescue formations, for which reason particular attention must be paid to their mental training and tempering.

The building of modern training facilities with models of stricken areas is a major prerequisite for the solution of the problem of training GO staffs, services and formations. This will simulate the complex circumstances needed for training and exercise purposes. Mental training facilities must be an integral part of these areas. Here the formation personnel will experience mental conditions through audial and visual simulation of human distress sounds, isolated or widespread fire, falling walls and burning objects, burst water and gas mains and others.

The proper training of the command personnel of civil defense staffs, services and formations is a prerequisite for the successful conduct of rescue operations in a combined strike center.

Medical Support Characteristics

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1980 pp 16-18

[Article by Professor Dr Yordan Naumov]

[Text] The mass strike areas which arise as a result of the separate use of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons have been relatively well studied. Such is not the case, however, of the combined application of such weapons on the same targets, the result of which are the so-called combined strike centers. In these centers the harm done to the human body comes from different sources (mechanical, radiation, chemical, biological). This raises new problems and complicated medical assistance to the population.

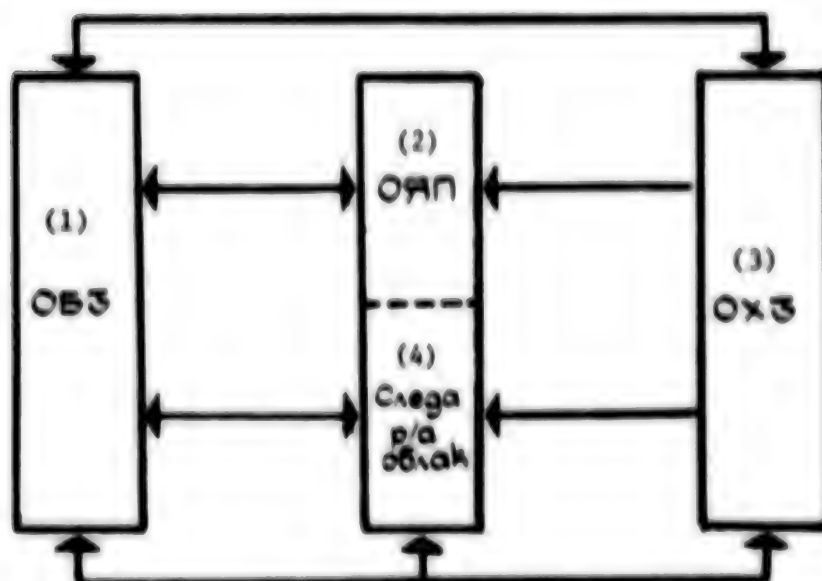
Various combinations are possible in the outbreak of combined mass destruction areas. The following diagram illustrates possible double combinations of biological and chemical contamination centers with a nuclear strike center and with a trace of radioactive cloud, as well as the most complex triple combination of biological, radioactive and chemical contamination. A directional arrow indicates that in most cases chemical contamination will be secondary.

Depending on the nature of medical casualties and problems which may develop, two basic types of combined strike centers may develop: surgical (with traumas and burns) and therapeutic. The former are related mainly to the nuclear strike center while the therapeutic are only combinations of radioactive, chemical and biological contamination which could be manifested in double or triple combinations.

The individual toxic substances and infections have their specific characteristics and different means of action and effects. This provides for the great variety of their basic combinations. Furthermore, medical science and practice will be interested in the possible combined effect of the striking factors of mass destruction weapons with chemical contamination centers, ordinary epidemics, strikes by conventional weapons and natural disasters.

The outbreak of combined strike centers calls for paying even greater attention to combined strikes as biological and medical problems. In combined strikes, as a result of a variety of pathological mechanisms, the most frequent effect is that of the so-called reciprocal aggravation syndrome, which means that one damage worsens the development of another and vice versa. This syndrome is related to the substantial changes which take place in the biochemical environment. Occasionally, however, the

**Diagram of Possible Combinations
in the Use of Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons**



Key:

1. OBZ--biological contamination center
2. OYAP--nuclear strike center
3. OKhZ--chemical contamination center
4. S r/a O--trace of radioactive cloud

opposite effect may appear: in a combined strike the organism reacts differently even to the already developed and tried preventive and treatment means used in individual cases. Their effect may be intensified, reduced or eliminated, or may even become adverse. The familiar synergistic and antagonistic reactions to the effect of pharmaceuticals may be taken into consideration and the possible effect of the means used (for radiation protection, antidotes, antibiotics, bioproducts and others) must be assessed.

In the so-called surgical combined strike areas the organization of rescue operations is entirely based on the purpose and combination of the acting forces in the respective center (nuclear, traumatic or thermic).

That is why, when we consider the problem of combined strike centers, we have in mind the so-called "purely" therapeutic, whose characteristics will be discussed subsequently. Let us begin with some most general features of such centers of combined strikes which are of direct importance in the organization of medical-sanitary protection. Their forms may be varied and complex. Most frequently, there will be areas in them triggered by one or two factors. Should all three types of mass destruction weapons be applied, there may be areas simultaneously contaminated by biological, radioactive and chemical factors. The demarcation of the boundaries of the combined strike centers will call for the utilization of comprehensive methods and a variety of instruments.

Another characteristic feature will be the fact that frequently the fast outbreak of mass casualties caused by some striking factors will be combined with the delayed effect of others and the late clinical manifestation of the damages themselves.

Should combined strike centers appear, many of their characteristics must be taken into consideration leading to changes in the organization of the medical-sanitary protection of the population in the following main areas:

the principles governing the organization of hygiene and anti-epidemiological and treatment-evacuation measures;

the structure and the means for the utilization and support of activity of GO medical service formations;

the development and utilization of comprehensive means for damage prevention and treatment;

the training of the population and the health cadres and of the GO medical service formations.

These problems require comprehensive elaboration. They play a major role in the scientific, training and organizational activities of the GO medical service.

The medical measures will greatly depend on the nature of the combined strike center. The rapid identification of the myriad striking factors involved in the combination would make it possible to undertake purposefully the restricting and rescue measures required by the circumstances. The role of medical reconnaissance will grow. It must be conducted on a comprehensive basis. The reconnaissance groups must include various specialists and instruments which will enable them to detect contamination with radioactive substances, toxic gases or various infectious diseases in the areas where medical formations and institutions are located and deployed.

Wartime sanitary control of food products and drinking water becomes comparatively more complicated. The degree of contamination may be different and present various harmful combinations. That is why comprehensive sample taking, laboratory analysis and medical expertise are required.

The application of restrictive measures as well has several characteristics. Usually, the regular procedure is followed for quarantining and observing the entire territory affected by the use of biological weapons, regardless of the fact that the entire territory or isolated areas may be contaminated by radioactive or chemical substances. Low quarantine measures are applied on the remaining territory of the combined mass strike center located outside the biological contamination zone. However, certain restrictions are imposed and access to the area is controlled.

The evacuation of people from a center of chemical contamination or an area with a dangerous level of radioactivity is of decisive importance in rescuing them. Depending on the specific circumstances this may be achieved by way of several means and involves the use of the necessary prophylactic measures both in the evacuation process and in the relocation area.

Preventive means for the three types of damages are provided for the protection of the population and GO formations in combined strike centers (radiation protection, antidote and antibiotic). Operating formations should wear light protective clothing made of fine polyester fabric dipped in the proper solution in order to protect the skin while working in combined strike areas. This method gives the fabric good protective means including protection from bacteria. It would be expedient for specialized reconnaissance and other GO subunits (chemical, radiological, anti-epidemiological and others) to use, in addition to prophylactic means, heavier protective clothing which would protect them from radioactive and chemical substances and some bacteria. Such fabrics offer protection from falling drops for two to three hours. Such clothing is believed to be more effective than the familiar antiplague protective clothing which is heavier and consists of separate pieces. It would also be expedient to use coveralls with separately attached gloves.

The threat that vast territories may be affected by radioactive pollution or chemical and frequently biological contamination increases the complexity of crossing the territory by vehicles traveling along the main roads for economic or military purposes. Greater difficulties appear in traveling along main roads within biologically contaminated areas where, in addition to the disinfection of the roads, a strict regimen must be observed before entering the contaminated area (documents confirming immunization, strict discipline and security measures in traveling and so on).

The direct organization of hygiene-anti-epidemiological measures is assigned to the anti-epidemiological detachments (groups). However, this involves all forces on the affected territory. The right is retained to introduce outside forces inside the biologically contaminated areas under extreme circumstances only.

The other basic aspect of population medical support is related to the organization of medical aid and treatment in the appearance of combined mass destruction centers. The nature and organization of treatment-evacuation measures directly depend on the size and structure of medical casualties. Medical casualties may be relatively more widespread and unevenly distributed.

Their extent is determined by the variety of striking factors, difficulties in providing comprehensive protection, and the more complex emotional circumstances caused by the unpredictability of the eventual occurrence and nature of the danger to the people and so on.

The uneven nature of casualties is manifested quite strongly in space and time. It depends on the great variety and the power and means of use of mass destruction weapons and the varying effectiveness in the individual sectors within the area caused by different territorial characteristics which result in different results of the strike, and so on.

The structure of medical casualties is characterized mainly by the existence of specific therapeutic and combined damages. The specificity consists in the occurrence of diseases which are unusual or atypical in peacetime, such as acute radiation disease, various toxic gas intoxications and particularly dangerous infections.

Combined therapeutic damages play a predominant role in this structure: ionizing radiation and toxic chemical poisons; ionizing radiation and contagious diseases; toxic chemical poisons and contagious diseases; and ionizing radiation, toxic chemical poisons and contagious diseases.

Little peacetime chemical practical experience exists for the treatment of such cases. This calls for the exclusively experimental study of the characteristics of such combined damages. It is not our objective to describe the results of the studies made so far of combined damages. Let us emphasize, however, that some combinations such as, for example, ionizing radiation-infection, ionizing radiation-damages caused by phosphororganic combinations, and so on, have been relatively well studied. The data indicate that the course of both damages is more severe. It is of essential significance to determine the primary factor and time between the influence of the first factor and the development of the second. Data on the combined impact of toxic chemical poisons and infections, ionizing radiation and skin inflammation diseases are relatively scant in available publications. In the latter case we may expect a strong reciprocal worsening caused by the radiomimetic effect of both striking factors. The most complex and most severe clinical pictures will occur as a result of triple combinations.

Should combined strike areas appear, the system of population treatment and evacuation support faces additional requirements. Medical formations play the main role in the group of GO forces in charge of rescue measures in a therapeutic combined strike center. The organization becomes more complex and the amount of first medical aid changes. It calls for prophylactic, reviving and urgent medical measures for the different and mainly combined damages. First medical aid must be provided rapidly at the location of the strike and be applied continuously in the course of the evacuation process.

First medical and specialized medical aid will be provided, respectively, by the first medical support detachment (OMO) and in the second stage of the medical evacuation (wartime hospital base) if the two-stage system of treatment with evacuation is used. This system is adopted most frequently in the case of combined chemical with radioactive contamination. The first stop in the medical evacuation is outside the chemically contaminated area and outside the zone of high radioactivity, on the basis of modified systems which allow the treatment of toxic gas and ionizing

radiation casualties. Particular attention must be paid to the possibilities of organizing the rapid special treatment of the casualties. In the second step of the medical evacuation the main and therapeutic hospitals, the centers for the collection of light casualties and the rayon multiple specialization hospitals will increase, for they will have to accept mass flows of casualties suffering from specific and combined therapeutic damages. This increases the significance and availability of specialized radiological, toxic-therapy and infectious diseases brigades.

However, treatment on the spot will have to be administered more frequently at the therapeutic combined strike centers. This is essentially mandatory in the presence of a biological contamination center and in all cases of combined strike areas located in the vicinity of hospitals.

The role of triage through which casualties are protected from additional contamination and which ensures the timely and effective giving of medical assistance becomes more important in the organization of medical-evacuation activities in combined strike centers. Some aspects of medical evacuation change as well. The handling capacity of the individual means of transportation may be changed and some of them may have to be reorganized to permit additional medical treatment. The proper classification of the casualties in the various transport vehicles, based on the type of contamination, will be of major importance as well.

The danger of the relatively frequent outbreak of combined strike areas calls for a reassessment of the structure and equipment of the medical forces and of medical supplies. Additional measures for the utilization of general purpose forces (SD, OMO, wartime hospitals and so on) must be contemplated in advance in order to handle areas with a combined chemical and biological contamination strike. We must also reevaluate the norms governing the manpower and facilities of the GO medical service. There will be more frequent need to work in shifts, which will require more manpower. With such vast numbers and exceptional variety of casualties, the proper classification and the most important combinations and groups of casualties and the adoption of the method of the so-called "modeled therapy" for their treatment will be of essential significance. The individual methods will be chosen on the basis of their effectiveness and accessibility. Medical aid will combine strictly specialized means with means with a broader range of action.

The threat of a more extensive outbreak of combined strike centers faces medicine with the need to resolve a number of basic and applied problems. The civil defense medical service will take into consideration their specific requirements in planning medical support, preparing medical-sanitary protection and improving the management of its overall activities. The effectiveness of the measures related to the medical-sanitary protection of the population will be enhanced as a result of greater knowledge of the characteristics of the defended territories and the specific possibilities of available forces.

Characteristics of Population Protection

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1980 pp 18-19

[Article by Col Kuncho Mariyanski]

[Text] Combined strike centers will break out within the same area should the enemy use either simultaneously or consecutively nuclear, chemical and biological weapons

or conventional arms. Vast and dangerous zones of radioactive, chemical and biological contamination will develop and may encompass the greater percentage of the country's population.

The solution to the problem of protecting the population in combined strike centers (OKP) will require of the GO organs and of all citizens a good knowledge of the enemy's contemporary weapons.

Comprehensiveness is an essential feature in protecting the population and the formations' personnel in a combined strike center. In each separate case the protection will depend on the nature of the center and the effective striking factors and components at the time. The modern view is that a reliable protection of the population in a combined strike center may be achieved through the ever more extensive construction and development of the necessary protection facilities. Such facilities will be the basic means of protection. Every citizen must know the location of the properly equipped shelter or dugout, closest to his place of work or home, as well as the procedure for using it as stipulated by the GO authorities. Shelters offer the highest level of protection among the collective protective means within the OKP. The population may spend a considerable length of time in such shelters without wearing individual protective means. Antiradiation shelters and simpler shelters within the OKP may be used for protection only from external radioactivity, the fallout of radioactive dust and of drop of toxic substances falling on exposed skin or clothing. For this reason shelter users must have at their disposal and use individual protective means.

The GO organs play an increased role in insuring the high level of availability of such facilities in organizing the protection of the population in the OKP. Every citizen must bear in mind that never and nowhere should he be caught without his individual protective means. He must be able to handle them properly and quickly, be familiar with the characteristics governing their use in different circumstances and be able to make eventually necessary minor repairs. The areas in which toxic substances and biological means are combined will force the population within them to operate for long periods of time while wearing individual means of protection. This will generate high physical and mental stress.

A major characteristic of the protection of the population in the OKP is the choice of individual means: the type of means to be used and when (gas mask, respirator, protective clothes, protective gloves, etc). According to the specific case this must be ordered by the corresponding GO authorities on the basis of reconnaissance data and following the precise identification of the nature of the contamination in the OKP. That is why shelters and dugouts must be equipped with means (radios, loudspeakers) which will report the reconnaissance data.

The citizens may not always have at their disposal so-called government issue means of individual protection. That is why, starting in peacetime, it is necessary to develop skills and establish an organization for making simple protective means by the population itself, which must be trained in the proper use in case of need. A long stay in the OKP will require the frequent change of the individual means used for the protection of the skin because of the stronger absorptive effect of contemporary toxic substances. That is why available means such as protective gloves, aprons, covers and others, made of rubberized fabrics or synthetic matters protect the population from radioactive dust, bacterial aerosols and drops of liquid toxic substances.

The population within the OKP may also use as protective means ordinary sports, work, or student clothing (trousers, overcoats and others). Gloves may be used to protect the hands while rubber boots, boots, galoshes and other types of shoes, made of leather or leather substitutes, may be used to protect the feet. Clothing must be extensively washed with a soap-oil emulsion with a mineral or vegetable oil base. This will protect it from the fumes of toxic substances as well.

The preparation of the emulsion requires two liters of hot water in which 250-300 grams of soap is dissolved and 0.5 liters of mineral or vegetable oil added. The solution must be heated and the clothing must be soaked in it.

Evacuation from an area on which chemical weapons have been used, within the limits of the quarantined area or outside it, is a major characteristic in organizing the protection of the population in the OKP should chemical and biological contamination exist.

A system of observation is applied in areas from which the population is evacuated. Furthermore, in order to block and prevent the spreading of various infections stemming from the OKP along roads, railroads and water mains, control checkpoints are set up. The Order and Security formations set up a provost-marshal's service in the settlements. They strictly supervise the observance of the quarantine measures by the population.

In cases of chemical contamination it must be remembered that the faster the population is evacuated from the contaminated area, the lesser will casualties and the threat of contamination become.

A number of various characteristics exist in protecting the population in the OKP depending on the combination of the creating components. It is particularly important, however, for the citizens to be trained in the strict observance of all rules of behavior ordered by the GO organs. Thus, for example, in an area contaminated with toxic substances, radioactive matter and bacterial agents, in no case should the protective means be taken off. Food and water may not be absorbed or tobacco smoked without permission. Training the population in performing the right actions in the OKP would help every citizen to save himself and, if necessary, to help others in trouble while observing safety measures, particularly in cases of biological contamination. Among the various activities for the protection of the population in the OKP particular attention must be paid to prophylactic medical measures. No single citizen must refuse to use the items contained in the individual first aid kit (antidotes, radiation protectors and others). It will also be necessary to issue the population the proper medical drugs such as cystamine, taren and chlorotetracycline with a view to reducing the dose of the simultaneous effect on the human body of toxic, radioactive and bacterial agents.

Rescue operations in the OKP will have to be conducted under complex radiation, chemical and biological circumstances. For this reason, starting in peacetime, measures must be taken to train commanders and troops in the formations to protect themselves before enduring rescue operations should they find themselves in a combined strike center. It would be expedient to maintain in a complete state of readiness both shelters and individual means of protection. It is particularly necessary, starting in peacetime, in the course of classes and exercises, to become used to operating while wearing individual protective means under higher stress and

over longer periods of time. Furthermore, it is quite imperative for individual bandaging and antichemical kits to contain everything necessary.

All this demands of the chemical and sanitary-chemical laboratories to be prepared for taking samples and identifying new and previously unknown toxic and biological agents in order to provide quick information to civil defense organs. The successful implementation of such assignments will require the use of new work methods and additional instruments and equipment.

In the course of the regular training of population groups it is equally imperative always to draw attention to safety requirements in the OKP, paying particular attention to the preparation of collective protective means and the skillful use of all available individual production facilities.

The mass contamination of people, equipment, property and other items in the OKP will also require extensive degasification, deactivation and disinfection. The forces and facilities of the GO formations assigned to perform such tasks may prove to be insufficient. This will require the use of the population in some cases.

In order to meet this requirement the availability of the necessary regulation degasification, deactivation and disinfection means and solutions and of auxiliary substances and solutions provided by the industry and the national economy is of great importance.

The characteristics of the GO measures implemented for the protection of the population in the OKP may prove to be numerous and quite varied. In the final account, the success of such protective measures will depend on the accurate implementation of GO measures in peacetime and on the training, level of organization and activity of the population.

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BULGARIA

PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICIALS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 11, 1980 pp 26-27

[Article: "Awarded for Services to the GO [Civil Defense] of the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Tsvyatko Naydenov

This person has not assumed either the duties of a commander or those of a simple soldier. In his own way he is making efforts and dedicating his work to insure the success of civil defense work. Despite his great love for his profession--he is a graphic arts teacher at the 21st Unified Secondary Polytechnical School Khristo Botev in Sofia--his firm civic position and high feeling of responsibility do not allow him to be satisfied merely with the implementation of his direct official obligations. For the past six years he has tried, through his efforts, to make his contribution to the popularization of the noble objective of the civil defense system.



Tsvyatko Naydenov does not find sufficient the programmed study of civil defense in the schools. He feels that the students must know more about the dedication of troops and commanders in GO formations and services. That is why in draftsmanship classes he frequently assigns topics on civil defense activities which, in his view, are sources for the patriotic and communist upbringing of the children. With the help of art, whose emotional impact on man has always been strong, the future citizens of the republic also develop a proper attitude towards civil defense. However, the strong educational and agitational enthusiasm of Tsvyatko Naydenov is focused mainly

on the work of the graphic arts circle he heads at the school. With the help of cartoons, slides and drawings he acquaints the circle members with the topics to be worked on. In this respect, the active participation of the young painters from the circle in competitions and exhibits on civil defense topics, organized by the GO staff of Blagoev Rayon in Sofia, is a guarantee for his good work. Last year's exhibit by third-grade student Izo Tasev, which was quite impressive in its social topics, was the result of the creative cooperation between the GO staff of Blagoev Rayon and the graphic arts circle. The graphic arts circle, which has won a number of distinctions and awards, owes its successes exclusively to the pedagogical and organizing talent of its instructor. Properly assessing the effective and useful activities of Tsvyatko Naydenov, the party and administrative management of Khristo Botev Unified Secondary Polytechnical School No 21 fully support his highly humane efforts.

Presently Tsvyatko Naydenov and the young painters he instructs have focused their attention and efforts on preparations for the anniversary exhibit of the circle which will be held in 1981. Most of the works will deal with topics on civil defense and its forthcoming 30th anniversary.

Tsvyatko Naydenov was awarded the highest class of the badge For Services to the GO and the NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic] by the command of the GO of the NRB for his inspired work and responsiveness to civil defense tasks and objectives.

Veselin Iv. Petrinski

For the past 20 years he has been working as GO chief of staff at the Bolshevik Mine. He assumed his new duties in a situation when civil defense problems were gravely underestimated. Both the management and the workers shared the view that the mine offered no possibilities for training civil defense formations, the more so since workers and employees came to work from more than 35 different villages, commuting by train and bus or even walking. No thought whatever was given to any training process or facilities. Happily, this is a long-gone period which is remembered for the sake of showing the difficulties which Comrade Petrinski had to surmount before the mine assumed one of the leading positions within the civil defense system of Sofia Okrug in recent years.



Today the various formations are fully staffed. Technicians and engineers (some of whom are reserve officers) are heads of services and formations. They are skillfully implementing the stipulated measures. The training process is proceeding as planned. The training facilities meet the GO requirements of the mine, while the civil defense office is considered a model one. It is equipped with most of the required facilities.

The mine's party committee and administrative management backed the suggestion of the chief of staff to inaugurate each new GO school year most solemnly. This has become a tradition which is having a positive effect on the attitude of the workers and employees toward civil defense. Veselin Petrinski pays great attention to the preparations for this important measure.

At the suggestion of the chief of staff, as early as 1962 half day and full day formation training was organized. This is a great accomplishment which upgrades the effectiveness of the entire training process and its level of planning. Petrinski states with satisfaction that the good results which were achieved are due to the great support that he receives from the mine's party committee and the mine-wide trade union committee with whom he coordinates planned measures in advance. In the course of his service as chief of staff at the Bolshevik Mine, several directors--GO chiefs--have come and gone. According to Veselin Petrinski, former director engineer Vasil Zanchev, currently first deputy minister of power industry, was the one who contributed the most to the good condition of the civil defense.

Veselin Petrinski's industriousness and conscientious attitude have been highly appreciated. He was awarded the high title of "Excellent Worker of the Ministry of Power Supply" for his active, long and fruitful civil defense activities. He is a bearer of the Gold Badge of the Bulgarian trade union's central council and of the badge For Services to the GO of the NRB, Second Class.

Itko L. Plashkov

Itko L. Plashkov is director of the Georgi Dimitrov Pumps Manufacturing Economic Combine in Vidin. His work is characterized by a skillful combination of production activities with civil defense tasks. He is convinced that the participation of workers and employees in the formations contributes to the enhancement of discipline and of a feeling of responsibility.



The combine, Comrade Plashkov says, is one of the oldest enterprises in the okrug and, naturally, has developed its own traditions. Such traditions exist in the area of civil defense as well. The acquired experience and the serious attitude of the entire personnel concerning civil defense training are a firm guarantee for the good results achieved with every passing year.

The director is justifiably proud of the entire collective. The high level of readiness of the combine's formations was proved in the model comprehensive exercise conducted in the obshtina this year. The breakdown repairs technical crews, whose task was to repair a damaged steam pipeline, was rated highly by the chief of civil defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic personally.

According to Itko Plashkov, one of the important conditions for good results is the proper organization and continuous support of the socialist competition. Naturally, this must be consistent with the specific conditions, possibilities and achievements of the collective. He is convinced that competition within the combine's collective plays a positive role and is an educational influence by contributing to the molding of the new man in the developed socialist society. Thanks to the competitive method, systematically applied in production activities and in GO training, the levels of organization, discipline and effectiveness rise both in the economic area and in defense preparations. Engineer Itko Plashkov is well aware of the meaning and significance of good civil defense training. That is why he is enthusiastically dedicating his knowledge and efforts to such activities. The positive organizational qualities he shows as manager and commander have not remained unnoticed. On two occasions he has been awarded the badge For Services to the GO of the NRB.

Kostadin Iv. Kostadinov

Kostadin Iv. Kostadinov has been GO chief of staff at the Pernik Okrug worker's hospital. With his restless spirit, always seeking the new, within a short time Kostadinov was able to develop model planning of the training process and proper filing and cadre staffing of formations. His planning is based on the program of the Ministry of Public Health. Individual problems are coordinated with the staff of the okrug medical service. All this, consistent with modern civil defense training requirements and the characteristics of the working time in the hospital, makes it possible, in the course of the training process, to achieve high results in the practical training of medical support detachments and other formations, to be in constant touch with and assist the commanders and to control the implementation of planned measures; on the other hand, this greatly contributes to the reaching of high successes in the practical training of the personnel. Well-trained specialists, with methodical experience, are used as class instructors.



A model exercise with one of the medical support detachments was organized jointly with the Medical-Sanitary Protection chair of the Medical Academy in Sofia on the deployment and activities in a nuclear strike area, observed by all commanders of such detachments. The results were far better than expected, thanks to the high discipline shown by the personnel and the excellent knowledge and implementation of the functions by the participants in the training. Everything was conducted methodically and accurately, in the conditions of a complex tactical environment and with proper material support.

As an experienced civil defense worker, Kostadinov tries steadily to upgrade the competitive spirit of the people, particularly when checking the level reached in their training. Here the concluding classes always include the deployment of a medical center and a variety of practical actions in complex and instructive circumstances. Despite his rich experience, Kostadinov regularly consults with specialists from the Medical-Sanitary Defense chair and his colleagues and analyzes his own experience. He knows how to work with people, encourage those who hesitate, and urge the good workers through proper words and actions to achieve even higher training successes.

The unanimous opinion has been that the badge For Services to the GO of the NRB, which was presented to him in 1979, and the People's Order of Labor, which he was awarded on 8 May--International Red Cross Day--were recognitions of his 20 years of fruitful activities within the civil defense system and the Bulgarian Red Cross.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JANUARY 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jan 81 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36, No 1, January 1981, signed to press 10 December 1980, pp 1-96: "Performance Increase in a New Dimension." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors referred to below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] To implement our long-range targets related to the continuous shaping of the developed socialist society and the protection of its gains, there can be no other way in the future than to enhance considerably our country's economic power by strengthening the material-technical base and increasing labor productivity. The 1980's require a performance increase of a new dimension. This is noted by Georg Ebert in the January issue of EINHEIT which deals with the topic of "Science--Technology--Economy."

The higher standards involve, according to the author, stepping up scientific-technical progress, struggling for top performance, above average increases in labor productivity, enhancing the effectiveness of investments and manufacturing products of top quality and profitability in terms of foreign currency. The working people's initiatives in preparing for the Tenth Party Congress, pledged to this aim, express their approval of the course of the main task that we are consistently pursuing.

In another contribution Rudi Georgi explains the place occupied by industrial robots in our economic strategy. It should be an important concern of each combine to provide the technological capacities to prepare for and employ industrial robots. Robot technology, the writer says, is everybody's concern, its application a task for our national economy to be solved on a priority basis. In another article, Dieter Spaar and Hans Wagemann comment on the interconnection between agricultural research and production.

Under the headline, "Responses to the Challenges of Our Times," Eberhard Heinrich assesses Volumes 5 and 6 of Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays" (1976-79), now published by Dietz, Berlin as a "Guide Through the Most Recent History of Our Country."

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACADEMIC RESEARCH-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION COORDINATION URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 8, 16 Jan 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Academy of Sciences Wants To Carry on Less Industrial Research." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by GDR Academy of Sciences President Werner Scheler, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR Academy of Sciences intends to concentrate more again in the future on basic research in the natural sciences, after many institutions in recent years have been dealing with relatively short-ranging subjects in industrial research. Basic research, Academy President Werner Scheler announced, could only to a limited extent address problems arising in the production process itself. Recently the realization had grown in industry, and industry had been approaching the Academy more and more with the desire, it should devote itself mainly to problems the exploration of which could be the basis for production in the second half of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. Scheler called this a "healthy development." By being turned into the basic industrial units, the combines were fully responsible for the development of science and technology as tools for raising labor productivity and the technical level of production. Universities, colleges and institutes in the Academy could provide valuable impulses for it though they were not, or only to a limited extent, able to do such research work themselves (EINHEIT, No 1, 1981).

GDR Academy President's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 1, Jan 81 signed to press 10 Dec 80
pp 12-17

['Science--Technology--Economy' feature article by Prof Dr Werner Scheler, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Sciences: "For Highly Efficient Research"]

[Text] In recent international scientific-technical literature we find a prominent increase in prognostic contributions that are looking ahead to the future. That makes sense because science finds itself confronted with greatly higher demands from society due to its largely increased influence on the economy, the education and living conditions of the people and the much more intensive interactions between society and nature. The political weight and responsibility of science and technology have grown.

Social processes and scientific-technical progress have become more and more inseparably intertwined. That is equally true for capitalism as for socialism. Whereas capitalism, however--lacking a scientifically sound social conception--, with all its scientific and technological advances no one should underrate, does not use their results as the interests of men demand and in many cases can offer what amounts to mockery for solving the problems of humanity, socialism, the social development model scientifically established by Marx and Engels, has since 1917 provided the evidence for being able to shape social processes for the good of men. Not until one realizes under what extremely tough conditions of class struggle the development of socialism went on and is still going on, can one properly appreciate its great inherent socioeconomic and intellectual-cultural potentials.

Science in socialism orients its strategy to the fundamental problems of social development. In the knowledge that science is being propelled by compelling social needs and by cognitive and methodological advances generated by research, science and technology must be planned and managed in such a way that the development of socialist society is furthered as effectively as possible.

That aim is served by appropriate guidelines from the party and state leadership. From most recent times there are before us resolutions on a long-range conception for basic research, on the formation and further consolidation of the combines, as they, after all, have the greatest share in the GDR's R&D potential, on the tasks of the universities and colleges, on medical science and other fields. Taken together, these resolutions, in the preparation of which a large circle of scientists has been involved, from their initial conceptualization to their final formulation, orient us to the implementation of the basic line of our science policy as set down in the SED Program. And it is certain that the 10th party congress will contribute to the further enrichment and deepening of that development.

The 1980's confront us with complicated tasks. In his recent Gera speech, Comrade Erich Honecker also addressed these problems while emphasizing the high demands placed on science and technology. We must take for an accepted fact that the interrelations among scientific-technical, economic and social progress have acquired a first-rank importance. We are going through a developmental phase where the dependency of social progress on economic performance development, and its dependency on the effectiveness of science and technology, assume a new quality. Science management and planning must take that into account as well. A few considerations with respect to that.

The Selection of Research Themes

As a social phenomenon, science is a unified whole. Even so, it breaks down into many disciplines, uses diverse sets of tools, and pursues diverse objectives. Their development is shaped partly by the individuality of specific scientists or collectives involved. This diversity is something that science management and planning have to take account of. Regardless however whether specialized scientific-technical tasks in industry or cognition-oriented research at a university is concerned, the value of a later research outcome is often already decided during the planning for the task. The basis for any selection of research trends or themes must be an assessment of their prospective importance to the advance of knowledge and to society. Most of the time there is a close correlation between them. For objectivating

the decisions, expert opinions and prognostic-analytical studies are of great value. And proper attention has to be given to the long-term effects of science and technology.

Our Academy has for years cultivated a close liaison with the universities and colleges and the coordination and consultation on research conceptions and programs with the GDR State Planning Commission, the Ministry for Science & Technology and various other ministries. In this, research tasks have been discussed, especially in particular scientific-technical subject fields such as energy, particularly also nuclear energy, carbochemistry, microelectronics and automation, nutrition and so forth, and requisite measures were initiated.

The R&D tasks in industry, agriculture, public health and other domains are marked by specific production or task profiles. Basic research in the Academy, the universities and colleges, however, must keep the whole breadth of the sciences in mind and select from it the trends and project areas that require a more protracted scientific lead time for the priority projects agreed on. That will bring about a congruency between economic development and science strategy on a large scale.

The realization has grown among most of our cooperation partners that basic research must, time and time again, derive its targets and tasks from observing the inherent dynamics of science, for which reason it can deal only to a limited extent with problems arising in any given production process. Industrial branches and combines that have built up efficient R&D centers or departments, are letting us know more and more of their desire the Academy should mainly devote itself to problems the exploration of which would pave the ground for production in the second half of the 1980's and the early 1990's. That is a healthy development. At the same time then also, through correlating the research conceptions in the practical fields and in the Academy, the requisite substantive and temporal relevance is preserved.

Complexity and Disciplinary Deepening of Research

Any large science project demands a careful analysis of the various tasks involved, the solutions offered and the personnel and material-technical premises. In our experience it is necessary in such comprehensive tasks to conduct systematic cooperation among the collectives and facilities involved from the very beginning. Developing a new medicine from a new substance presupposes coordinated cooperation of chemists, pharmacologists, toxicologists, pharmacists, physicians, technologists and economists to meet all the requirements that have to be made on a new medicine. An analogous situation applies to research in energy, raw materials, working materials, microelectronics, automation and so forth. Scientific tasks having economic objectives therefore call for a complex approach, and this during the planning as well as in the realization phase.

Often the various specialists are not all under one roof but belong to various facilities and diverse subordinations. In such cases the partial tasks have to be worked out and a substantive and temporal coordination of the entire project is needed. The effort connected with it more than makes up for any possible effects of conceptual gaps and one-sided approaches. In such complex tasks it has been found useful to form a scientific council, appoint a person responsible for the projects, prepare concrete duty notebooks for all involved and regular working

conferences. When the institutions of the Academy, universities and colleges gather early and get together with the economy, scientific-technical progress is speeded up on the whole, and the safety and tempo in applying concrete joint research achievements are enhanced.

In disciplinary basic research the requirement normally is more specific. There it is often not necessary to cooperate with many other facilities. None the less, even for deepening a field of a discipline the cooperation with scientists from other specialized areas proves extremely useful. The great advances in biology, for instance, were largely attributable to the use of new physics and chemistry techniques and the direct involvement of physicists and chemists in working problems out. Disciplinary research can benefit greatly from interdisciplinary cooperation. Interdisciplinary research focused on complex tasks, in turn, needs a high level of specialization in the science disciplines taking part in the cooperation. Keep in mind that the strength of a chain always depends on its weakest link. That must be given particular attention in the planning of complex tasks.

Linkage of Science and Production

In setting up the combines as the basic units of our social reproduction process, they were given the full responsibility for developing science and technology as tools for increasing labor productivity and the scientific-technical level of products, for reducing specific energy consumption, for improving the materials economy and so forth. The R&D potentials of an industrial branch or combine must continuously optimize, on the basis of precise comparisons with international standards, the ongoing production process both with regard to its technology and its labor organization, while preparing new efficient procedures and a higher grade of production. For the latter, a branch-specific basic research at a larger scope is indispensable. That must be carried out in industry itself. Universities, colleges and facilities of the Academy can provide valuable impulses for it, but they themselves are not, or only to a limited extent, able to do such research work, even if they turn their own research data over to be used specifically, in the final analysis, in particular industrial branches. The construction and development of branch-specific basic research in the combines and industrial branches will create favorable prerequisites for closer communication with the Academy and university affairs, and testing new data for their economic importance can become more efficient.

It has been found beneficial for industrial branches and combines to consult experts from the Academy and university affairs on their R&D conceptions. In part, permanent science advisory councils have formed in the combines whose members represent the Academy and the universities and colleges. Equally beneficial has turned out to be the participation by scientists from the practical fields in the scientific councils for programs and main research directions of basic research. The positive effects we see in all these activities lie in a safer long-range combine development and a safer elaboration of projects and complex tasks jointly to be undertaken by industry and the Academy or the universities, and in an increased accountability of basic research to social progress.

As an essential link for coupling mathematical and natural science research with production, what has furthermore crystallized is technological R&D. A new working

principle, a new development in methods or a new substance and things like that have to be worked out technologically when entering production or being put to public use. That calls for technical testing, experimentation and pilot plants. Any bottleneck at this point would reduce the flexibility and speed in coping with scientific-technical progress. One has seen repeated oscillations with production tasks or insufficiently equipping scientific facilities with technical capacities are two typical causative factors in this connection for delay and waste in the research-production cooperation. The changes needed must be enforced without constraint. The linkage of science with production calls for close mutual familiarity with a given area of activity. That is the best found way to delegate specialists from our institutions for a certain fixed period to a combine or other practical facility when some data was to be applied or when projects were under way that were geared to the methodological-technical conditions of industry, for example. Inversely, colleagues from industry were in good time drawn into such laboratory work in our institutes that formed a lead for industrial R&D. This can clearly increase the tempo and efficiency in the application process. Moreover, through these personal contacts--even after a concrete task is terminated--much better communication and cooperation conditions continue to exist and good prerequisites are established for more joint research. The scope and speed of personnel exchange are by no means satisfactory as yet. In that we must make faster headway.

Cooperation Between Research and Education

The Fifth Higher Education Conference has brought out clearly that through the great dynamics in science and technology the education of the working people--and especially that of the scientists--has become an important productivity factor. The function of education, naturally, is not exclusively aimed at the economy but decisively serves to enrich men intellectually and culturally, serves his personality development. Even so it cannot be ignored that the economic function of education has grown, which has its own implications. That pertains mainly to a continuous advanced education for the working people in all public domains. This becomes a pillar standing up in its own right alongside training.

The scientist derives the task from the continuous differentiation and expansion of our knowledge about nature and society to keep himself always informed about the international state of knowledge by his own research and by keeping up with scientific literature, by targeted work and study assignments in leading laboratories and by participating in specialized conferences and courses. A higher proportion of one's personal time budget is required for these educational activities. Any neglecting of them in favor of purely experimental or other work leads fast into some practicism or empiricism. Any kind of underrating theoretical education frequently programs those concerned as early as in the planning of R&D tasks for not keeping up.

For academic personnel working in the practical field, extended working assignments in basic research laboratories are indispensable to find out about new ideas and methods developments and to get out of the confining viewpoint of a concrete task area for a while and get new stimulation. His work in the Academy or at a university can then also be combined with writing a dissertation.

Performance Encouragement and Differentiation

New science and technology data normally are the result of intensive research activities by collectives and individual scientists. In this, the capability of a working team greatly depends on the creativity of individuals and the intellectual milieu of the group. Original ideas ultimately always come out of only one head even if--as is the rule--the collective discussion of a problem or of work in progress is a precondition for such ideas to arise. Individual creative achievement and collectivity of work are not mutually exclusive. In many fields, in fact, they condition each other.

Several sources contribute to the creativity of a scientist who can become creatively effective in our profoundly humanistic society under good and ever improving working and living conditions: His endowment by nature and from his parental home, the impulses and principles conveyed to him by the school and his studies, the demands raised by his life and work, the intellectual climate of society and of his more intimate environment. It takes a stimulating environment to develop and make effective gifts and talents. Our socialist schools offer all children fine educational opportunities. That is a primary precondition for any specific encouragement of special talents and abilities. Intellectual abilities, manual skills, physical advantages and the like are, after all, very different between individual and individual. Releasing and tapping the creative potentials of the people can become all the more effective, the earlier individual potentials are recognized and effectively encouraged. This task applies in equal measure in school, in vocational training, during studies and on one's everyday job.

A high place value attaches in scientific work to individual abilities. Developing the performance level in the research collectives therefore depends on a good composition of the circle of associates, which holds true not only for the colleagues' specialization skills and their particular facilities, but also for their characteristic traits, their willingness for performance and their diligence. Forming such an efficient collective is one of the most important task for any science manager, one that can often only be solved in the course of several years. Making a high performance demand on each associate as well as on oneself is the crucial factor in this formation process. In newly formed research collectives such a clarification and differentiation process is indispensable. In others, that have existed for a longer time, however, a continuous intellectual regeneration is of the greatest importance-- especially also by means of targeted fluctuation--because routine easily sneaks in. Habit and mental standstill are inimical to researchers because they keep them from recognizing new problems.

The Material-Technical Conditions

Modern research makes high demands in terms of original ideas and efficient technology. Only when both factors are given can top achievements be accomplished. Being richly equipped with tools does not per se insure outstanding results, and then again one may find that material-technical difficulties --even sometimes such as could relatively easily be remedied by making better use of the existing potential--are used as an alibi for a lack of ideas. At times it is precisely the difficulties and problems arising that become a point of departure for new ideas and approaches. It would of course be irresponsible to construct or redevelop on

one's own apparatus and equipment already in use and commercially available. Economics alone would militate against that. Yet even so, research must not exclusively rely on technology as current commercial usage. Frequently, new opportunities and ways are opened up through some original development in methods, the primary thrust coming out of unique laboratory designs. If they turn out well, development and design tasks arise from those of the workshops in the institutes or for science equipment construction.

Demanding experimental research has to be able to rely on efficient workshops. Likewise, for larger science institutions like the Academy, science equipment construction directly related to the research work is indispensable. The same holds true for introducing computer and automation technology in research and using it there.

In part, the research centers and the industrial R&D departments have better possibilities to employ workshop capacities for securing the technical research base. The technical potential of a combine or a whole industrial branch, after all, is many times larger than that of an Academy or university institution. When Academy institutes or universities jointly work on a complex research task with industry, the work in the Academy and university institutions can often be greatly speeded up through the use of the technical possibilities of the combines and enterprises. That also is true for making available specialized equipment and theme-related basic assets. It is of reciprocal use and in the overall social interest.

Apart from that basis in equipment technology, research accessories like biochemicals and refined chemicals, radiochemicals and other materials, and especially also science literature, are essential prerequisites for high-level and highly efficient research. The same applies to them, in terms of making them readily available in good time, as to the research technology.

In selecting the problems treated here--the implications of which for the international research cooperation of the socialist countries call for a separate treatment--those aspects were addressed that offer handles for a performance improvement of science and technology, especially with regard to their economic efficacy. The high requirements for the 1980's demand categorically that all possibilities and reserves in research be tapped which can contribute to a fast performance growth of the economy.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LATEST VOLUMES OF HONECKER'S 'SPEECHES AND ESSAYS' REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 6, 14 Jan 81 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Honecker's Speeches." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT review, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 1, 1981) has paid tribute to party chief Erich Honecker as an important ideologue and theoretician on the occasion of the publication of volumes 5 and 6 of his "Speeches and Essays." "All fundamental statements" by the General Secretary were informed with "the scientific analysis of social development." From this theoretical basis then, any topical domestic and foreign policy tasks were being derived "with compelling logic." Through Honecker's speeches and essays, the party was being "theoretically equipped, ideologically reinforced and oriented to its practical work." The "acuity of thought and the personal commitment were impressive" with which Honecker stood for "leading our ship securely over all our hurdles."

Official SED Review

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 1, Jan 81 signed to press 10 Dec 80 pp 37-43

[Review by Eberhard Heinrich, candidate member, SED Central Committee: "Responses to the Challenges of Our Times: On the Publication of Volumes 5 and 6 of Erich Honecker's 'Speeches and Essays.'"]

[Text] How despite our changed domestic and more burdensome external conditions in a more complicated international situation the eighth and ninth party congress course, aimed at the well-being of the people, is resolutely being carried on is impressively attested to by the published volumes 5 and 6 of Comrade Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays," embracing the period from September 1976 to December 1979. They are testimony to the creative Marxist-Leninist leadership force of the party and the outstanding work of its general secretary. They are topical for today and signposts for tomorrow.

Our party is in the midst of comprehensive and thoroughgoing preparations for its 10th party congress. This--as SED party congresses always are--is an event affecting not only our comrades but our country's citizens everywhere, far beyond the party ranks. The broadest conceivable mass movement gives evidence to it. The emulation by millions in preparing this party congress connects with intra-party discussions and with an intensive dialog between the party and the people about what has been achieved since the ninth party congress and about future demands and new objectives.

Indispensable for it are volumes 5 and 6 of Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays" which have now come out--in the by now familiar Dietz edition. They represent the period from the second Central Committee session in the fall of 1976 to the December days of 1979, a long stretch of the road passed between the party congresses. They are notes, as it were, amidst the struggle on continuing this struggle. Experiences and insights acquired in the struggle for implementing the party resolutions have been written down and expressed here so as to set signposts for the party and the whole country for moving further ahead.

These volumes are a guide through our country's most recent history, informing us about the course of the socialist revolution in our time. They record the ideas that guided us and the deeds we have achieved. They are handbooks on applied Marxist-Leninist policy and have the added advantage not only to give information about our results but also to grant an insight into how and under what conditions they came about. For there is nothing in this period of our history that is more apt than the statement made several times by our general secretary: Nothing has fallen into our lap. Everything we have achieved had to be worked for hard and had to be accomplished under the constant drumfire by the enemy. Reading these documents once again, one not only re-experiences the struggles in the years from 1976 to 1979. They also turn out to be topical for today and for tomorrow. For they reveal, after all, the scientifically sound consistency and continuity of the SED policy as elaborated under the leadership of its general secretary. Both volumes and every contribution in each greatly reflect what may be said about our party policy as a whole: This is consistent Marxist-Leninist policy marked by the unity between revolutionary theory and practice. It relies on the universal inevitabilities of socialist construction. Our party pays great attention in its activities to the experiences of the fraternal parties and of all other forces of progress in the world. Our party policy is rooted in life and always proceeds from a precise analysis of social development in any given concrete situation.¹

Precisely this scientific analysis of social development it is, the dialectics in the changing internal and external conditions for our political efforts, which informs all fundamental statements by the general secretary. From this theoretical foundation then, any given topical domestic and foreign policy tasks are derived with compelling logic.

Leadership Activity Documents

Volumes 5 and 6 of "Speeches and Essays" provide the reader with a renewed encounter with such important documents as Erich Honecker's statements at the Central Committee secretariat conferences with the kreis first secretaries of 1977 and 1978, the Dresden speech initiating the party school-year, known under the title,

"The socialist revolution in the GDR and its prospects," then the speeches at the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution and several articles for that occasion, as well as the festival speech at the 30th GDR anniversary and many articles and interviews on that anniversary. Then there also are the speeches before the Central Committee plenary sessions and other social bodies in our country, the many statements on international issues--merely a brief listing suggests the wealth of studies contained in these two volumes. These are speeches and essays by which our party in an important sector of its struggle for fulfilling the ninth party congress resolutions was theoretically equipped, ideologically reinforced and oriented to its practical work, with which the communists have worked, the content of which they carried into the masses, and by which the countenance of the GDR has been further modified.

The positive balance-sheet with which our party approaches its 10th party congress is of an importance that is all the greater in that our tasks and objectives, in view of the larger dimensions of our activity here at home and under the more burdensome conditions of a more complicated international situation, had to be met. Burdens arose, as one knows, from general changes in the world economy. And the change in course from detente to confrontation, in which certain imperialist circles are actively busy, worsened the external situation more and more. In reading the contributions in the two volumes chronologically, one can re-experience in an exciting way how our party early on recognized and analyzed these phenomena, drew the necessary inferences in its Central Committee resolutions, and then advocated the correct solutions with all its strength and determination. There is impressive evidence here for how, through this leadership activity, the course toward peace, socialism and anti-imperialist solidarity which had been assigned by the ninth party congress was bolstered and the program on full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability continued to be implemented even under the altered foreign economy conditions. Impressive are the acuity of thought and the personal commitment with which Comrade Erich Honecker advocated staying on course and leading our ship securely over all hurdles, and how, through reaching the targets assigned, the party and the people discovered new horizons.

The Vital Humanity Problem Always in Focus

No one can have any doubt about who advocated making detente irreversible and who opposed it. Even while the great effects of the Helsinki Conference in favor of the continuation and stabilization of detente were recognized and our party, in its alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, did what it could to advance that process, it yet had to call attention to the risks emanating from the most aggressive circles of monopoly capital. Already in the concluding speech at the second SED Central Committee session in 1976, Comrade Honecker gave the following resume: "In discussing international questions we can of course not ignore those manifestations in some capitalist countries that work against the peoples' general desire for peace, security and cooperation" (Vol 5, p 10). The fifth session urgently warned against the imperialist forces that had no use for the entire course of detente and therefore more and more massively sought to press for a return to the Cold War. In the Dresden speech of fall 1977, finally, Comrade Honecker identified the question of peace as the question of all questions and remarked: "At a time when one is saying that detente is making headway and must be made irreversible, tension on the international level has increased in not a few

areas." That was indicated by the naughtiness of the political and ideological conflict between the two systems and even more by the grave fact that imperialism was pushing the arms race in an unprecedented manner. His judgment is unequivocal: "The situation is such that, despite all advances in detente, disarmament has become the key issue for further development" (Vol 5, pp 466-467).

The speeches and essays of those years clearly show that our party correctly assessed the successes in the detente policy while exposing, without any illusion, the nature of contradiction in the political development of the imperialist countries. From the very beginning Comrade Erich Honecker points out that the detente policy can abolish neither the opposition between the two systems nor the aggressive character of imperialism, and that the crisis in the capitalist system keeps producing always more adventurous political ideas and adventures, which makes for the danger of increased tension and sudden changes in the international arena. We are posing against it our irrevocable conviction "that there is no acceptable alternative in the world of today for the policy of peaceful coexistence" (Vol 5, p 427). We mobilize all forces for it and work with all who are sincerely interested in sparing the peoples the horrors of more wars.

Peace Demands That Revanchism Be Repelled

The composure and consistency with which we are engaged in our peace policy also shows how ridiculous the constant attempts of the enemy are to impute a different political attitude to us. Recently once again the FRG's imperialist mass media, by poking around in the dregs of Erich Honecker's speech before the Gera Bezirk activists, have concluded the SED has "changed its course" and have intoned some hypocritical and mendacious clamor about it. Only one who has not read or has not wanted to take cognizance of our general secretary's speeches in all previous years can run into such conflicts with the facts. One can only urgently recommend to such people they should refresh their knowledge by studying volumes 5 and 6. There Comrade Honecker, mindful of the importance the relationship between the two German states on the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO has for European security, has examined in detail several times the reasons that oppose a continued normalization of GDR-FRG relations. As two of the most important ones he mentioned, in fall 1977 already, the FRG's refusal to recognize the national border and GDR citizenship with all the consequences that implies. "Here is the actual root for the repeatedly arising burdens in GDR-FRG relations and, indeed, for actual complications accumulating sometimes" (Vol 5, p 470).

In responding to the objection by FRG politicians that their Basic Law prohibited an acceptance, under international law, of the borders and a citizenship of the GDR, our party leadership has said years and years ago that in that case the old revanchist legislation of the FRG should have to be changed. "The crucial question is: do they in the FRG, on the basis of the treaties, want to normalize relations with the GDR step by step, or do they want to use the treaties to interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR and fight against socialism in Central Europe" (Vol 5, p 471). Emphatically Comrade Erich Honecker stresses the GDR's determination constructively to extend, in responsibility to European peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence also vis-a-vis the FRG. This is and remains our firm intention: "The chain of peace years, which is known to have benefited all, must not break. That conforms with the general line of our ninth party congress, to which all our foreign policy is oriented" (Vol 6, p 41).

From this everyone can see our party is resolutely pursuing its peace course. That accords logically with rejecting any form of revanchism and interference in the internal affairs of our state and of the socialist community. Nothing has changed in that and nothing can change in it as long as there are forces that threaten peace and socialism.

Trips of Friendship and Solidarity

In all this our party always regards peace and anti-imperialist solidarity as interconnected tasks of our foreign policy. In his concluding speech at the ninth Central Committee session, the general secretary underscored that wholly in that sense we have been supporting the African, Asian and Latin American peoples that were liberated and are struggling for their liberation. How much this resolute struggle of ours for peace and against imperialist exploitation and suppression, and for anti-imperialist solidarity, has provided our socialist fatherland and our party with respect and appreciation everywhere in the world from those who make up the united anti-imperialist front is something that becomes utterly apparent in the present volumes.

The years from 1976 to 1979 were years of indefatigable internationalist activity for our party and its leadership. The trips by Comrade Honecker to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Philippines and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the state visit to India and, finally, the two trips to the African continent, where Libya, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique, Ethiopia and, on the Arab peninsula, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen were visited, stand out. Every trip to each of those countries concretely proves what Comrade Honecker has said by way of summary in his autobiography about our anti-imperialist relations: "All peoples that have thrown off the century-old yoke of colonialism and are struggling for a new life we consider as allies in the struggle for renewing the existence of mankind. In the national liberation revolution we see one of the most important social movements in our era. Objectively, the socialist world and the national liberation movements are natural allies."²

Comrade Honecker's announcements during the friendship and solidarity trips are joint, in the same degree of cordiality, with those made during the visits of outstanding personalities, statesmen and party leaders from countries and states on four continents in the GDR. All these meetings have confirmed the basic truth of our era: The alliance of the three main revolutionary currents of our time it is, and mainly the strength, radiation and policy of real socialism, which are advancing social progress in our world. And the GDR does its share in having this alliance of the revolutionary forces become closer all the time.

The Course Is and Remains the Unity of Economic and Social Policy

As in the changes in the foreign policy landscape, so also, with scientific thoroughness, our party leadership has analyzed the new conditions for SED economic policy through the implementation of the party program, as adopted by the ninth party congress, and of the 1976-1990 Five-Year Plan. Erich Honecker's speeches and essays reflect the work done by the party leadership so that, in spite of the altered world economic situation, the course of the eighth and ninth party congresses could and can be maintained. From the vantage point of today it becomes still more obvious

how resolutely and frankly the SED has raised the new problems in economic policy, responded to them in the dialogue with the masses, and taken decisions that conform to the challenges of our time.

Comrade Erich Honecker always proceeds from the favorable preconditions for our economic development created by our basic and reinforced, performance-oriented economy, the increasingly closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the successfully fulfilled 1971-1975 Five-Year-Plan and the strong competition activity of the working people in our country. Against that, the foreign economy burdens of considerable magnitude have been measured, as they presented us with the question whether or not we should continue the tried and tested ninth party congress course. And the impressive answer given by our general secretary was this: "With confidence in the strength of our party and the diligence and creative effort of the working people, we have decided to make up those losses by accelerating our scientific-technical progress and raising our labor productivity by way of intensification. That has met with an energetic endorsement from the people. In the outcome of it the ninth party congress was in the position to resolve to carry on with the proven unity of economic and social policy in the interest of implementing the main task" (Vol 5, p 202).

Therefore the party leadership emphatically orients us to a decisive improvement of labor quality and efficiency in the comprehensive sense of the word and to constantly improving the cost/benefit ratio in all fields. Time and time again Comrade Erich Honecker makes the point that it is the economic yardstick with which we have to measure things here so that good individual results do not get lost but have a positive impact on our overall balance-sheets. For to continue our socio-political program demands producing a high increase in national income year after year, strengthening our material-technical base, and solving other important tasks over the long haul.

The general secretary never placed in doubt that the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan would assign demanding tasks that could be met only through struggle, through the comprehensive mobilization of the creative capacities of the communists and of all working people. Behind each percent of production growth this year again there stood a considerably larger volume than in the first half of the 1970's. "He who judges such a percentage politically must take into account that it, under the circumstances referred to, demands more of an achievement than in the past. That is mainly reflected by the fact that the thus far highest increase rates were planned for science and technology, for improving the effectiveness of investment in social labor time, raw materials and fuels, and the utilization of our basic assets" (Vol 5, p 23).

The speeches and essays from 1976 to 1979 permit the reader once again to re-experience how our party and its leadership continuously analyze the continual day-by-day course of economic cycles and have an influence on them while looking beyond any given quarter or year to the long-term factors and requirements and preparing and making the requisite decisions for them. One can go through the process of understanding how the conceptions for strengthening the material-technical base of our economy came about, which "ripened into a task of unconditional priority," (Vol 6, p 411) that of the far-sighted planning for our raw materials and energy industry and of those branches that have to make an especially important contribution to our accelerating our scientific-technical progress and its economic and social use--such as microelectronics. That also holds true for our perfecting our

management and planning. Examples of it are the formation and extension of the combines in industry and construction. Over the years, experiences are always tested and generalized anew that were gathered by the advanced combines and carried over into the newly formed combines, so that the party can say today: "Through developing the combines we have effectively taken account of the production concentration requirements and their close ties with science."³

This much may be said: Without this long-term conceptual and pioneering management activity by the party leadership in forming and developing the combines, the high targets of the 1980 plan-year and their being exceeded through the mass competition, "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Well-being of the People!" would not have been possible.

Irrevocable Lessons from World Historic Events

The strength of real socialism, which has fundamentally changed the looks of our planet, is persuasively and impressively presented to the reader in the contributions devoted to the two important anniversaries in the time frame between 1976 and 1979, the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the 30th anniversary of the GDR. Our party has used both events for driving more deeply into our consciousness the world historic importance of the October Revolution and the historic turning point in Europe brought about through the socialist revolution on German soil and for further solidifying our class alliance with the Soviet Union as the surety for the further development of the GDR and for peace and progress in the world. A special climax came here from the outstanding feats in USSR-GDR space cooperation, the flight of Soyuz 22 and the first joint space flight of astronauts from our two fraternal countries in orbital complex Salut 6/Soyuz 29/Soyuz 31.

Comrade Erich Honecker paid tribute to the international significance of the Red October and its lessons by saying: "In the manifold revolutionary struggles and changes since the Great October in the world, the universality of Lenin's revolutionary theory has been corroborated in practice" (Vol 5, p 165). Mainly two basic experiences from the history of the first victorious proletarian revolution have been made to stand out by the SED General Secretary from a topical vantage point: The realization that a Marxist-Leninist party is needed for successfully coping with the historic mission of the workers class belongs among the most important lessons the Great October has taught the international labor movement. For that reason it is important not only to preserve but constantly to perfect the leadership role of the working class party throughout the whole course of the socialist revolution. Any diminution of the party's leadership role jeopardizes the successes of socialist construction and gives free play to the counterrevolution. And secondly: Historic experience since the October Revolution fully corroborates the remark by Karl Marx that between capitalist and communist society there comes the period in which one changes into the other, with a political transition period conforming to it, "the state of which can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."⁴ Wholly in this sense our party has always regarded the power question as the basic question of the revolution. That holds true not only for the struggle to overthrow the exploiter system but also for the time after the triumph of the socialist production relations, in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In this the main trend in the development of the workers and farmers power lies in continuously perfecting socialist

democracy. It is in its essence not only different from but contrary to bourgeois democracy, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus the development of socialist democracy can never mean absorbing any elements of bourgeois parliamentarism or of so-called pluralism, for that would not lead to an enrichment but to a subversion of socialist democracy. What we rather seek is to make possible for the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia, the craftsmen and the tradesmen, under working class leadership and through a creative alliance policy, to take an active part in the social progress of socialism on behalf of all the people. "It speaks for the scientific policy of our party that we managed in all phases of our 30-year construction effort and in all struggles and tests to preserve this alliance and deepen and enrich it incessantly" (Vol 6, p 589).

The Centerpiece of Our Leadership Work

Further developing and strengthening the leading role of the workers class and its party call for the closest mass solidarity by all party organizations and all communists. Comrade Honecker keeps reiterating: What the new demands placed on the party's political mass activity is all about is precisely the further deepening of these vital party ties with all our country's citizens. For the greater the demand is that is placed on our party's leadership activity, the firmer must be its ties, its bond with the masses.

In the remarks about our political-ideological work we encounter the principle of the eighth party congress, to work for the well-being of the people with the people and through the people, as the long-term concept for activating the dialog between the party and the people. The SED's connection with the masses is in its essence a representation of interests for the people and with the people, implying from the outset the dialog between the communists and all citizens on jointly implementing the party program. In terms of method too it is a dialog, a give-and-take, teaching and learning. All the demands Comrade Honecker addresses at the GDR communists for conducting this dialog still more effectively are found fulfilled in an exemplary fashion in his speeches and essays themselves, which elaborate and explain the dialectics of domestic and foreign policy, explain SED policy in all its connections, and attract people to making the new topical tasks understandable so that everyone can find his place and share in their solution.

"Our remark about our political-ideological work as the centerpiece of our party work loses none of its validity with respect to the solution of future tasks. On the contrary. The main point is: If the party steers a clear Marxist-Leninist course, convincingly explains its policy, can rely on the firm confidence of the masses, an enormous capacity arises from it for its implementing its goals for the well-being of the people" (Vol 6, p 299). This very capacity it is which stands revealed at present in the broad mass movement in preparation of the 10th party congress and shows itself capable of coping successfully with the great tasks and new criteria of the 1980's.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "On Topical Problems of GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980.

2. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 402.
3. Erich Honecker, "On Topical Problems . . .," loc. cit.
4. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 28.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STRENGTHENED TIES BETWEEN ARTISTS, PARTY ADVOCATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 1, Jan 81 signed to press 10 Dec 80
pp 53-60

[Article by Ursula Ragwitz, department chief, SED Central Committee: "Cultural Policy--Alliance Policy." A translation of Kurt Hager's address, cited in footnote 8, is published under the heading, "SED's Culture Chief, Academy of Arts President Address Plenum," in JPRS 75818, 3 Jun 80, No 1780 of this series, pp 33-46]

[Text] Friendly alliance relations, based on valuable experiences of the revolutionary labor movement, exist between the workers class and all creators of culture and art who are taking part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. The alliance policy in the field of culture and art which is implemented by our party has been and is an essential basis for the successes of our socialist national culture. Party-mindedness, solidarity with the people, a socialist content of ideas, artistic achievement and great popular effectiveness are irrevocable principles of socialist art and culture development.

In his meeting, on 22 June 1979, with creators of culture and art, our party's Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Comrade Erich Honecker, reviewing our republic's historic course, said this: "The firm alliance of the workers class with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people is an inviolable element of the policy of our party and government and part of our state's essence and practice. Through the strength of this alliance it became possible fundamentally to change our people's existence in the sense of socialism, humanism, peace and human dignity. Risen out of its ruins and turning toward the future, our republic endured all the strains of our time, and the alliance of the workers class with the intelligentsia turned out a strong weapon in the conflict with those that, on the other side of the barricades, indulged the illusion that they could turn back the wheel of history."

An inseparable part of this overall alliance policy concept championed by our party is the alliance of the workers class and its revolutionary vanguard with the creators of culture and art. It is a vital element of the Marxist-Leninist culture and

art policy and accords with an objective inevitability of the socialist culture revolution. Only on this basis can our socialist German national culture--a culture of all the people shaped by the goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers class--develop with success.

The importance of this alliance between the workers class and the creators of culture is founded on the historic mission of the workers class and on the nature of socialism, which embodies the real humanism of our era. The humanistic purpose of our culture and art is brought to realization through a productive conformity in principle with the historic effort of renewing all forms of human life under party leadership. From there it derives its vivid substance and great social function. The creators of culture are encouraged fully to develop their creativity through responsible efforts on behalf of our socialist society. There is room in socialism for any artist and creator of culture "whose work is committed to peace, humanism, democracy, anti-imperialist solidarity and socialism,"² where he will find ample opportunities to help shape social development constructively.

As an inseparable component of its overall policy, our party's cultural policy, as set by the eighth and ninth party congresses, aims at systematically also raising the people's cultural standard of living in harmony with its material standard. It seeks a rich intellectual-cultural life and artistic creativity high in ideological efficacy and activates the contribution by culture and the arts to the formation of socialist personalities and the continued shaping of a cultured way of life appropriate to our society. This successful cultural policy, which has had a lot to do with the development of our socialist national culture, has always been and is closely tied in with the deepening of the relationship of confidence between the workers class, its Marxist-Leninist party and the creators of culture. In this, our party, as Comrade Erich Honecker has said, lets itself be guided by such basic principles as "the respect for man and comradely cooperation, marked by firmness in principle, patience and an understanding for the complicated nature of creative artistic processes."³

Rich Traditions

Our alliance policy in the cultural field relies on rich traditions and proven experiences of the revolutionary labor movement. The founders of our scientific world-outlook acquired fellow-combatants for the workers class from the ranks of the authors and creators of culture. Marx and Engels maintained friendly ties with Heinrich Heine and Georg Weerth, Georg Herwegh and Ferdinand Freiligrath. They drew those authors into the political struggle and brought an influence to bear on their work. Lenin, associated in close friendship, borne by great respect and understanding, with Maxim Gorki, time and time again stressed the need for a consistent alliance policy in the cultural field. He directed the young Soviet power to involving the "bourgeois specialists" of science, technology and art in the socialist transformation of society and to taking possession of the cultural achievements capitalism had left behind.⁴ Ideologically persuading the "old" intelligentsia and recruiting a new one from the ranks of the workers and peasants, what was dedicated to the people, was seen, and resolved, as a unified task.

We also ought to mention the experiences transmitted to us by Thaelmann's Central Committee with its alliance principles on cultural policy. In its 11th party congress in 1927, the KPD, in its resolution on the struggle against cultural and school reaction, underscored that the intelligentsia "had an ally against the forces that were inimical to culture and against the revolutionary workers movement."⁵ In the years of Hitler's dictatorship, the KPD, in the guidelines it issued at the conferences in Brunswick (1933) and Berlin (1935), laid the foundations for a broad alliance with all antifascist and humanistic creators of culture. In those years, Heinrich Mann, who had closely cooperated with Wilhelm Pieck and other representatives of the party executive in setting up a German popular front committee in Paris after 1935, arrived at this historic realization: "The cooperation of the intellectuals with the proletariat is the only reasonable thing because from now on the proletariat is the class that constitutes the state and upholds culture."⁶

As emigrants in the mid-1940's, Wilhelm Pieck and other leading KPD personalities together with noted artists and fellow-combatants of the party like Johannes R. Becher, Erich Weinert, Friedrich Wolf, Willi Bredel, Hans Rodenberg and Maxim Vallentin elaborated the cultural policy principles for the antifascist-democratic renewal of Germany. And at the KPD's first central cultural conference in Berlin, liberated from fascism, Comrade Wilhelm Pieck asserted the need "to bring together all antifascist and democratic forces that wanted a reconstruction, irrespective of party or religious affiliation, be they workers or intellectuals, farmers or craftsmen, and to create a large and efficient unity for all creators of culture. For only on the basis of such a unity and in the spirit of true combative democracy can a revival of German cultural life be brought to realization in a truly fruitful way."⁷

With the historic changes taking place in our country, under the leadership of the workers class and its party--the founding of the first German workers and farmers state, establishing the foundations of socialism, and the work in the shaping of the developed socialist society--, the alliance with the artists and creators of culture gained new contents and a higher quality. The social position and function of the artists and creators of culture experienced a fundamental change. Where the liberated workers class with its allies exercises political power and its ideology turns into the ruling ideology of the evolving socialist nation, spirit and power merge. There the socialist artist and creator of culture also share the power--with the freedom it grants and the responsibility it imposes. There socialist art and culture receive new power, over and above the "power of poetry." The role of culture that participates in the shaping of revolutionary processes combines with the citizens' rising educational and cultural level and with the many different social activities for developing cultural needs and for the esthetic education of the people. That grants our culture and art great and increasing opportunities to become effective--quantitatively as qualitatively--which are opened up better and better through the comradely cooperation of our party and the socialist state with the creators of culture.

Joint Accomplishments

Based on the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions, our party regards as its constant task to further the understanding of the artists and creators of culture for the basic issue of our era and of our social developmental problems and to shape

further their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. It aids the creators of art and culture in their deepening their relationship with reality and encourages and reinforces them in their party-minded commitment to the cause of socialism. It attentively promotes the development of an atmosphere that is marked by high demands in terms of ideas, morality and esthetics for the creators of art, sympathetic conduct toward them, and the promotion of all talents.

That is attested to in an impressive manner by the already mentioned meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and creators of art and culture and the significant speech he gave on that occasion about the successful implementation of our cultural policy, as much as by the friendly and creative atmosphere generated by that meeting. Comrade Erich Honecker's visit to the GDR Academy of Arts when the building that had formerly belonged to the People's Chamber was handed over to the Academy, in 1977, initiated a regular series of stimulating and comradely talks held by Central Committee Politburo members and candidates with members of the Academy on important issues of our domestic and foreign policy. Likewise, first secretaries and members of the secretariats of party bezirk and many kreis managements are conducting more of a confident dialog with the artists and creators of culture, which significantly contributes to a better comprehension on their part of the requirements of our overall policy.

The working class party, our socialist state, the trade unions and other social forces promote the genesis of new works of art and cultural achievements and assist in the further improvement of the living and working conditions of the artists and creators of culture.

The course of the party elections in the artists associations and cultural institutions in recent weeks has vividly confirmed that the fighting strength of our party's basic organizations has further grown also in this area. The communists in the artists associations and cultural institutions work with great commitment and dedication for constantly reinforcing and deepening party-bound positions in the thoughts and creative achievements of the creators of art and culture. They bring an active influence to bear on the development of socialist democracy in the associations and in our cultural life and encourage expert and frank debate on developmental problems and new achievements by socialist-realist art. Through the political-ideological clarification processes in the years since the ninth party congress, the authority and reputation of the artists associations and the GDR Academy of Arts have grown in public here in our country. They, much as many other artistic and cultural institutions, have come out, in preparation of the 10th party congress, with new initiative programs, performance comparisons, contests, workshop showcases and other important projects, targeted at the new socialist cultural values and works of art.

Our class enemies, who malign this climate which is so beneficial for the thriving of socialist culture as "interference," "patronizing," or "tutelage," deliberately misrepresent the facts. They seek to make us forget the elemental truth that freedom of culture and art in socialism is part of the freedom of all people and constitutes a precious revolutionary achievement.

Our party's cultural and alliance policy has borne good fruit. Intellectual-cultural life in town and countryside has become more varied and stimulating and has a lasting effect on the development of the socialist way of life. It helps to a stronger extent shape the ideas and value concepts of socialism and interhuman relations in a socialist world. It is shown mainly by the still higher cultural level of the working class and the GDR's influence on socialist culture development, the development of art and science and the growing cultural interests of the young people.

Remarkable advances have been made in recent years in the creative cultivation of our cultural legacy, which we are appropriating more and more effectively in its vital relevance to current tasks. Cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states has been deepened significantly. The radiating strength of our culture and art has been increased in non-socialist foreign countries. They became most effective wherever we managed to provide testimony, in an impressive manner, to the achievements and values of real socialism and to demonstrate the ideological-philosophic and esthetic quality inherent in socialist culture and art.

We have also been able to come up with a good balance-sheet, since the ninth party congress, for the creation of works of art. Authors and artists proved close comrades-in-arms of the workers class and active participants in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. All arts have ripened into new works and achievements pervaded with party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and socialist substance in ideas. Our socialist art has become highly effective among our people and meets its test in that it appropriately reflects life while it, at the same time, enriches it through convincing artistic accomplishments.

Many artists have turned more to the socialist reality in our republic and, doing so, have made new discoveries. The intellectual and moral look of revolutionaries of today, the active builders of socialist society, has become more diversified. That applies, for instance, to how worker personalities are presented, the vital problems of young people, the relations between generations, the relations between the sexes, and questions that have to do with women's equality and their realization in life. In this, the heroes of ordinary living have more clearly become an artistic focal point. The wealth of vital utterances from socialist personalities has been more accurately accounted for. Art more deeply penetrates man's inner world, seeking to depict it in its social reference.

Remarkable artistic thrusts were achieved in tracking new moral-ethical problems having to do with people proving themselves in our socialist reality. We find more penetrating inquiries here into the new quality of interhuman relations, the meaning of life, the substance of human happiness in our society, the self-realization of man and the relation between historic inevitability and moral responsibility.

Remarkable are the stronger artistic efforts of recent years to mine more fully the historic achievement of real socialism on German soil and the historic dimensions of our struggle. Many works, especially literary ones, came out which in a novel fashion pick up the historic experiences of our path, whereby they make an indispensable contribution to the formation and further deepening of a socialist consciousness of history. As much as many other works of art, they aim at the exploration of our socialist present and help deepen the citizens' love for their socialist

fatherland, the pride in their accomplishments, their loyalty to socialist ideas and their readiness to protect our socialist accomplishments reliably.

Our art has received more and more of an internationalist coinage. New works of art have given expression to the ideas of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and to our solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces.

The results of art development in recent years attest to a variety of contents and themes, forms and modes of writing, styles and signatures. Many new works of art excel through original artistic ideas and impressive design. They demonstrate the successful endeavor of our artists to locate those "salient points"--to quote Becher--from which our socialist reality and the struggles of our day can be presented as emphatically and unmistakeably as they occurred.

More and more young artists are raising artistic claims of their own, and it can often already be seen how their artistic individuality matures. Proceeding from their own world of perception and experience, they are making an important contribution to the development of our socialist national culture by their joy in discovery and strength of presentation.

Socialist realism has expanded and deepened its reference to our tradition. That is true of the interpretation of important works in our heritage as well as of the creative extension of the ethos and humanistic intent of great humanistic and socialist art achievements of the past, and it applies also to the reworking and use of tried and tested means and experiences in art creation in conformity with the tasks assigned to our art today.

Much as these achievements require discriminating evaluations, in their totality they unequivocally refute the enemy's vicious slander about an alleged "desolation" of our cultural landscape. They give evidence that artistic creativity in our country is marked by breadth and variety, the breadth and variety of socialist realism which rigorously sides with peace, democracy and socialism and opposes imperialism and reaction. It is a breadth and variety of an art that shapes the whole wealth of reality and the class struggles of our times, meets the varied and differentiated interests and needs of the working people and actively helps champion their fundamental class interests.

New Demands and Questions

The continuous shaping of the developed socialist society, our class conflict with imperialism and the worldwide struggle for peace and detente raise higher demands for the development of our culture and art. The party's leadership role is growing in the cultural field and in the implementation of our cultural policy alliance principles. Higher demands are placed on the level of political-ideological work which the party performs together with its alliance partners in the Culture League, the artists' associations, the Academy of Arts, the cultural institutions as much as in the field of cultural mass activity and in the sciences of culture and art. Our party leaders in these areas bear a great responsibility for the creative implementation of our party's culture and art policy and the further perfecting of

socialist democracy in our cultural life. That includes the development of debate in the artists' associations, party-minded art criticism and a vivid public discussion of new works of art.

While preparing for the 10th SED Congress, discussion of ideas with the writers and artists is being continued about their appropriability in socialism under socialism, the function of the arts in our society and our time and the problems in creating art arising from it, and this with new intensity. What informs the debates is this: as we make revolutionary changes in our life, the arts change as well, the conditions for their creativity, the subject matters, the forms of communication and artistic needs change.

The focal point of many considerations lies in the question how socialist realism can more effectively still assume its constructive and co-shaping function in the process of these penetrating social changes--as eloquent testimony to our accomplishments, in discovering that which points ahead to the future, as a revolutionary fellow-combatant in the struggle for giving victory to what is new. How does it aid in more strongly shaping still a conscious view on life and an active stance and creative attitude toward it? How does it help stimulate and reinforce socialist personalities in their will to perform and desire to produce, in their sense of social responsibility and their combative passion? How does it foster the desire and willingness to resolve contradictions, the movement of which is a developmental law behind social advance? How does our art manage in employing its own potentials in the formation and deepening of a socialist value consciousness and in using productively the dialectic relation between ideal and reality for encouraging socialist characteristics and attitudes? These are appropriate questions for our art, as one that is revolutionary and takes part in the changes in the world.

At a time when the forces of peace and social progress in the world struggle for continuing the detente process and bear great responsibility for the fate of mankind, it becomes urgent to inquire how effective our artistic weapons are in this struggle. Our party's Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Comrade Kurt Hager, in his speech at the festive plenary session at the 30th anniversary of the GDR Academy of Arts on 26 March 1980, asserted that in this situation "the contribution by our art and culture to spreading the ideas of peace and the peoples' friendship, and to our vigilance and readiness for the protection of our socialist accomplishments, gains special importance." He termed socialist realism a combative art "which through its own means passionately defends socialism, unmasks the inhuman nature of imperialism and dedicates itself to peace and to the supreme human right, the right to live."⁸

Further questions are raised also regarding the creative presentation of worker personalities and the picture of the workers class. An artistic representation of the leading social force in our society with its new human features and combative qualities remains a key problem for the further development of socialist realism. And this is not merely a matter of the workers class as a subject matter but one of accounting for our total social reality from the ideological vantage point of the workers class and on the basis of its ideals and value concepts.

In the further shaping of our socialist social life--including the contradictions and impediments that come to the fore in this process--an artistic exploration of moral-ethical problems continues to deserve great interest. We must, at a new level all the time, represent the various relations an individual maintains with the collective and with society and convincingly express the true wealth of personality as the wealth of its social relations. Art is expected to provide new answers to the questions of life and death, the questions about the existential problems of men and about man's relation with nature in our society. A wealth of new problems for art arises from the mastery over our socioscientific-technical revolution and the organized combining of its accomplishments with the advantages of socialism. An independent and unique contribution by the arts is expected to the further shaping of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism among our people and the deepening of its historic consciousness.

In all this one must always ask about the growing qualitative demands for the 1980's. The demand for artistic mastery and for persuasive works of art and interpretations of great strength of radiation should play a greater role in the evaluation of artistic accomplishments and in the discussions of problems in the creative process and of social expectations. In connection with it, further considerations and productive artistic offerings are needed to enhance the massive effectiveness of our art. That is among the basic demands in socialist cultural policy. Our socialist culture must more clearly develop its popular and mass character. All artists congresses after the ninth party congress and the federal congress of the Culture League have passionately argued the problem of massive effectiveness and the issue of the addressee of our art. This is the conclusion one came to: of progress in art in our society one can ultimately speak only if broadest strata among our people are receptive to art, can deal with it creatively and combatively, and derive new benefits of insight and experience from it.

Progress in culture and art in socialism has for its irrevocable prerequisite a constantly further development of the leadership role of the workers class. There is absolutely no doubt that in seeking breadth and variety in its themes and artistic representations, our art has undertaken many fruitful experiments, and helpful experiences have been gained for the process of artistic creation. Much of it has enriched our cultural landscape and made it more colorful. Other things, however, as experience has shown, hardly endure because they bypass the working people's social needs and expectations. When one fails to ask the question about the addressee and ultimately only wants to satisfy oneself, no works are created that can speak to the people and move the people.

All this is at once the artists' social mission and a challenge to our cultural and alliance policy. Ever since the eighth party congress, many proven forms and methods have been developed for it, which must be used and further developed.

Through personal talks of our party functionaries with artists and creators of culture, through their participation in club conversations and art discussions in the social organizations and artists associations, through special lecture and discussion cycles, colloquies and courses, the working class party fosters exchange of ideas with creators of culture about the political and philosophic problems of our time and supports their desire for topical information and a targeted Marxist-Leninist advanced education. Great attention is warranted in the future also to

the artists' interests in more deeply understanding the basic processes in social development by excursions to enterprises of socialist industry and agriculture, whereby to gain experiences and stimulation for their own artistic work. Active party support is warranted for the firm and long-term ties between artists and socialist collectives in industry and agriculture and for contracts between artists associations and large-scale enterprises.

A key problem in the further progress of socialist art evidently has become the further development and refinement of the artists' working on commissions. Sometimes one looks merely at the legal and financial sides of it here. Still insufficient attention is given to the ideological-conceptual cooperation between the one who gives the commission and the artist, to this productive as well as combative partnership in the creative process, which is an important qualitative criterion for social commissioning.

Greater efforts also ought to be made by the artists associations, the GDR Academy of Arts, literary and art criticism, and the social organizations and cultural institutions, aided by our media, to assist more effectively in the progressive debate and public discussion of new works of art.

The point in our party's work with artists, especially the young artists, is always to attain a high ideological-theoretical level and a value of insight and gain in experience that will be fruitful for the creative process.

Here are found important preconditions for the further development of a climate of confidence to govern the cooperation between our party and the artists and creators of culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented Successfully," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between Party and Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 28-29.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 105.
3. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy . . .," loc. cit., p 52.
4. Cf. in particular, V. I. Lenin, "Successes and Difficulties of the Soviet Power," "Werke" (Works), Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, pp 54-55.
5. "Thesen und Resolutionen des XI. Parteitages der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands" (11th KPD Congress Theses and Resolutions). Berlin, 1927, p 96.
6. Heinrich Mann, "Idea Realized," "Verteidigung der Kultur" (Defense of Culture), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1971, p 438.
7. Wilhelm Pieck, "For A Renewal of German Culture," "Reden und Aufsaeetze" (Speeches and Essays). Vol II, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1952, p 46.
8. Kurt Hager, "The Academy of Arts and Socialist Culture," SONNTAG, No 14, 1980, p 2.

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 1, Jan 81 signed to press 10 Dec 80
'Resumes' addendum

[Text] The Topic: Science--Technology--Economy

"For Highly Efficient Research" (pp 12-17), lead article by Prof Dr Werner Scheler, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Sciences.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of Professor Scheler's article is published under the heading, "Academic Research-Industrial Production Urged," in pages preceding this listing]

"Dynamic Growth for the Benefit of the People" (pp 18-24), by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, economist, director, department for political economy of socialism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; discusses the requirements for scientific-technical progress, an increasingly important subject in view of the ever more complicated conditions.

"Industrial Robots Raise the Technical and Technological Level" (pp 25-30), by Dr Rudi Georgi, economist, member, SED Central Committee; minister for construction of machine tools and processing machinery; outlines an area of microelectronics application of importance to our economic strategy.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of Minister Georgi's article is published under the heading, "Minister Assesses Past, Future Industrial Use of Robots," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

"Effective Combination of Agricultural Research and Production" (pp 31-36), by Prof Dr Dieter Spaar, vice president, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and Dr Hans Wagenmann, Director, Science Department, GDR Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs.

CPSU on Road to 26th Party Congress

[Summary of article by Dr Agon Winkelmann, ambassador, economist, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; pp 44-52]

[Text] Which tasks, scientifically founded and creative and aimed at the people's well-being and at peace, does the USSR, this pioneer of human progress and chief bastion of peace, envisage for coping with the further construction of communism? The direction indicated for solving these tasks by the CPSU, the most tried and tested party in the communist movement while preparing its 26th congress, as well as the party course of Lenin's land aimed at deciding the vital questions for humanity, the questions of war or peace, on behalf of the nations.

On the Occasion of the Sixth Congress of Korea's Party of Labor

[Summary of article by Horst Siebeck, economist, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 61-65]

[Text] Balance-sheet on the successes achieved by the Korean people, led by Korea's Party of Labor, during the 10 years since its fifth party congress. The main task of socialist construction in the 1980's--creating a firm material-technical base commensurate with a completely victorious socialist society, and the elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living. The workers class as the leading class of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the higher demands placed on the workers party in all domains of public life. On the main trends of the foreign policy efforts by the Korean Party of Labor.

Bundeswehr--NATO's Main Striking Force

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Albrecht Charisius, colonel, GDR Military History Institute; pp 66-73]

[Text] Since it was formed more than 25 years ago, the aggressive political mission of the Bundeswehr has remained unchanged. With sobriety and without illusions, and by means of ample documentary material, a picture is drawn, which calls for high vigilance, of the modernized equipped Bundeswehr, marked by a spirit of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, as the instrument of aggression by the ruling imperialist circles in the FRG for carrying out its revanchist goals, especially against the GDR, as the main European NATO thrust against the socialist community of states as a whole.

Peking's Conspiracy With Imperialism

[Summary of article by Dr Heribert Kunz, director, China Study Group, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 74-81]

[Text] Compelled by their drive for supremacy over other countries and ultimately for world domination, the Peking leaders are increasing their efforts in building up their partnership with the most aggressive imperialist forces, mainly in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The basis for this reactionary alliance--itself not without contradictions and mutual distrust--is a common hostility against socialism, in particular against the Soviet Union, its power and consistent peace policy being the decisive obstacle for any kind of hegemonism. Great dangers emanate for all nations from this anti-peace conspiracy.

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CRACKDOWN ON VIOLATIONS OF WORK DISCIPLINE SUGGESTED

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 9 Jan 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Rosemarie Winzer, research program director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; by Manfred Strzeletz: "Order and Discipline--Necessary Evil or Everyday Necessity?--On the Socialist Attitude Toward Work and Social Property." According to a TRIBUNE note, this interview is to be used by moderators and participants at the Schools of Socialist Work to prepare for the discussion of Topic No 4, "Order, Discipline, Safety--The Concern of Every Worker Collective"]

[Text] Biographical Data on Dr Winzer: Dr Rosemarie Winzer was born in 1934. When through with school, she trained as stenographer and worked as a law employee for 2 years. After studying at the worker and peasant school from 1953 to 1956, she qualified for college studies and then studied philosophy at Berlin's Humboldt University. She also worked as science assistant there until 1963. She earned her doctorate in 1966 from the Academy of Social Sciences, CPSU CC, Moscow. Since then she has worked at the Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC, as a lecturer and, since 1975, as a research program director at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology. She is the author or coauthor of many science studies and also has directed authors' collectives. Dr Rosemarie Winzer is a member of the Scientific Council for Problems of Socialist Competition.

The 1980's are ahead of us. We have quite some plans for them. Many tasks have to be coped with. "I know it does not come by itself that we can manage our life so well. That has its solid basis in our party policy aimed as it is, resolutely, at the well-being of our people. We know we are producing for ourselves. The more, and the more effectively, the greater is the benefit for all of us." So says Horst Salm of the

Bad Koestritz chemical works in a letter to Erich Honecker, and those are remarks each of us would endorse. Whether each of us could do so with a good conscience is something to be inquired into for once on this page. Order, discipline and safety are a matter of workers' honor to many and taken for granted by very many. But not by all. And precisely those we want to fit a jacket for which we are fashioning on this page by talking with sociologist Dr Rosemarie Winzer.

[Question] Order is half of our life, as the saying goes. Which part of our life is it then?

[Answer] No one has the right to steal time from others through lack of order, as no one has the right altogether under socialism to live at the expense of others. That is why the saying, "order is half of our life," actually only is a half-truth. Without order, our life is inconceivable. In one form or another, life always means living with others, and that only works if each at his place keeps order and disciplined conduct, if each first and foremost demands of himself whatever he expects of others—even if it may be hard at times to overcome one's own laziness and ease.

[Question] Evidently we all need order and discipline?

[Answer] Strange as it may first sound, they are necessary for our comfort at work as well as at leisure. It may be quite some imposition on one person or another, especially now during the cold season, to get out of bed when the alarm-clock rings and leave his comfortable apartment to get to work in time. Some also think it is superfluous to keep order on his job. On the other hand, who could enjoy it if the bus or streetcar are not punctual, if newly delivered cabinets come with parts missing, or if work comes to a halt because certain tools or materials first have to be located? In all such cases lack of order or insufficient discipline cause irritation and needless running around, losses in working hours and in leisure, and loss in pay. In other words: we tacitly assume order and discipline in others and expect them as a necessary element of our life. There, no one thinks they are a burden or nuisance.

[Question] Does one do enough for keeping order by doing one's work properly, or is more required than that?

[Answer] If by "doing one's work properly" one means working carefully and not allowing any quality defects to occur, making full use of working hours and working honestly, it means a great deal. If each brigade or worker collective would often ask itself how it is doing in that regard, quite some reserves surely could come to the fore. That would be the surplus we so urgently need to meet the higher demands of the 1990's.

As to such "surplus," plant machinist Gerhard Voss of VEB Elektrokohle Lichtenberg has provided a cogent comment: "That has always been the normal thing. Otherwise,

we would all be running through the woods in torn clothes and with clubs still today. And it is all the more normal in socialism because we are working for ourselves and are entitled to great plans and desires. Surplus in our case does not mean harder toil, however, but producing more for all through prudent innovation, perfect organization, thrift in economic activity and high discipline.

[Question] Five minutes ahead of time means proper punctuality, as the popular saying goes. Is that still relevant?

[Answer] More relevant than ever. Someone who wants to take a trip won't leave his apartment at the last moment, as he won't miss his train. Sure enough, work does not have a departure time like a train one wants to catch. But the time not used for work because those notorious 5 or 10 minutes have dropped off by being used for getting from the plant gate to one's particular place in the plant--they are as irrecoverably gone as a missed train. And each minute of working time lost today at the range of the economy represents circa M 2.2 million.

[Question] Being 10 minutes late each day means, computed on an annual basis, an extra week of vacation--at the expense of society, of the enterprise, of the work collective. Can we afford that?

[Answer] The facts referred to themselves should make clear enough that we cannot afford such delays, wherefore there should be no manager and no collective to tolerate them. It is not among the most pleasant things in our life, to be sure, to take issue with such idlers, but what is not produced in the time idled away cannot be consumed and does not appear on the counter.

[Question] Some who take it too easy with the break signals talk about a prescriptive right, a custom long in use.

[Answer] Overextending one's breaks is just like being late. If something bad is turned into a habit by some, it does not by that token become a right. No court in the world would acquit, or reduce the sentence for, a habitual thief as compared to one with only one violation. Each collective should resolutely do away with such prescriptive rights--or cavalier offenses, as some call them--that constitute a wrong committed against all those who are punctual and diligent in their work. They are incompatible with a worker's honor in socialism.

Poor examples spoil good habits here and there too, as one says. The capacity and maturity of a work collective is found precisely in the degree to which it succeeds in replacing falsely understood prescriptive rights by socialist habits, by responsibly dealing with working hours, the tools entrusted to it, and its materials and energy.

[Question] What you don't want to be done to you, you must not do to others. So, should we keep our peace when the colleague next to you does funny stuff?

[Answer] Precisely not. No one should remain indifferent to what happens in his collective with our social resources--time, material, machinery or installations. After all, his personal well-being, the possibilities for satisfying his own interests and needs, depend on the use to which these social resources are put. Any waste of material and any botch work will reduce our national income.

Sometimes one can hear as a reproach raised against a colleague who sees to thrift and discipline: he acts as if he had to pay for it out of his own pocket. Yet in socialist society, where there no longer is an exploiting class and the people own the means of production, the people also assumes the responsibility for seeing to it that nothing is wasted from out of the collective pocket.

[Question] Isn't there sometimes something being said also about prescriptive duty?

[Answer] An interesting controversy broke out at the Third Sociology Congress in a working team on whether or not one could love one's work, in as much as it is primarily a duty. But a duty, I dare say, will be regarded as something burdensome, something external or imposed, only as long as it does not coincide with the needs and interests of those which they are meant to meet. That also is one of the reasons why work was long felt to be a curse, a load or burden, in that those who toiled were largely deprived of the fruits of their toil, while others feasted at the workers' expense.

[Question] Our adversaries had prophesied that a condition of general laziness would gain ground in socialism.

[Answer] Marx and Engels countered that view resolutely in their "Communist Manifesto" already. Sure, the workers, working for themselves and enjoying the fruit of their labor themselves, must find ways and means to turn the duty to work well and effectively into firm habit. Such means are, for example, socialist competition, experience exchange, and mutual aid and education within the work collectives. By such methods, the workers class, liberated as it is, has produced initiatives and creativity to an unprecedented extent, and new habits have developed, its getting involved in thinking about and looking for new and more effective working methods, mutual aid and cooperation.

[Question] Aren't we still much too heavy in recognizing someone sometimes who works well day after day, even if inconspicuously?

[Answer] That is certainly still true in certain enterprises or collectives. It is all the more baffling since no preparatory efforts are needed for it, no coordination or consultation, but only plain skills in mutual relations. Survey results, time and time again, point to the great importance colleagues attach to confident personal talks with the chiefs--not only with their foremen, their immediate supervisors. And this not only because they are the shortest route for settling problems but as they also rightly consider that economic and social problems can properly be settled only if the chief is familiar with them through his immediate contacts and knows what obstructs the colleagues' dedication at certain sectors and what the colleagues' own ideas are for improving the situation.

[Question] Discipline--a widely used term. Production discipline, plan discipline, technological discipline, work discipline, conscious discipline, but also disciplinary action. What then does it all come down to for us?

[Answer] That each truly does well what he is responsible for, i.e., meets those social requirements that have to be met to insure an output proper as to deadlines and qualities. Labor Code article 80 defines the working people's working duties

in this sense. Plan discipline and production discipline ultimately always are the outcome of disciplined conduct by each on his job. That includes observing technological discipline, the given operational instructions and the labor safety regulations. In the Politburo report to the 13th SED Central Committee session, Guenter Mittag pointed out "that high dedication and work results in the enterprises and combines for fulfilling and exceeding economic tasks always go together with strictly abiding by operations security, order and discipline."

[Question] Initiative is lack of discipline with a positive outcome, and lack of discipline, initiative with a negative outcome, it has been said in jest. Is there any truth to that?

[Answer] I understand this jest mainly as a critique of managers who are made uncomfortable by the risk some initiatives incur and who thus do not stimulate the willingness to take risks at all. Surveys among managers have brought out that there is indeed no lack of criticism whenever novel ideas have not led to the expected benefit. But no necessary risk can fully exclude the chance of a negative outcome.

Realistic as the background may be for that play on words, it misses somewhat the essence of initiative in socialism. Initiative is anything but lack of discipline but expresses a high degree of maturity in conscious discipline. Take such well known initiatives as the personalized plan commitments, the initiative on "few workers produce more" of Schwedt, or the struggle for an extra day of output in honor of the 10th party congress. All seek to achieve the assigned plan targets faster or more effectively. Inversely, lack of discipline cannot be understood either as an initiative with a negative outcome. It simply has nothing and absolutely nothing to do with initiative. Lack of discipline is a serious interference factor in our life, and in the gears of our national economy.

[Question] Could it be that our society and all of us are perhaps too soft on people who just do not want to go along?

[Answer] It is a question ~~that~~ concerns many of us. The fact that socialism is a humane, truly humanistic, society, is interpreted in a most egoistic sense by some who think they can derive rights for themselves without offering anything in return. We must preserve the humane character of our society also by unequivocally calling the parasites to task. Granted, some managers shy away from rigorously coming to grips with discipline violators. They are worried about their plan and believe a tense personnel situation could make people quit when stronger measures are taken against discipline violators. But if everywhere the same high criteria are applied for order, safety and discipline, discipline violators will have no chance to get work elsewhere and keep on living at the expense of others. Being soft is out of place there. A different question is what the most suitable means of education are that should in any given case be chosen.

[Question] Does coercion in capitalism create better discipline?

[Answer] As the capitalists manage to enforce punctuality and a certain degree of labor intensity through various means, it might almost appear that way first. But if you realize that the working people, for fear of losing their jobs, refrain

from being seen by a doctor when they need to be seen, from going on sick-leave or for treatments, and for the same reason are afraid of joining the unions and representing the interests of their colleagues, it becomes apparent how fundamentally different the meaning of discipline is there from what it is here. The habit of working in a disciplined manner, as enforced by capitalism, is also of great importance to socialism, however. It is not by coincidence that our senior colleagues, who still had to suffer capitalist exploitation themselves, best know how to value discipline and are setting an example for their colleagues. They can fully appreciate the difference between the discipline of hunger, or of unemployment, and the conscious discipline, of "self-imposed work discipline," as Lenin termed it.

[Question] Does consciousness in socialism make up for the coercion in capitalism?

[Answer] The matter is not quite that simple. Consciousness does play — important role, revealed even by the word combination, "conscious discipline." But it is effective only in combination with many other factors and conditions. Lenin pointed out at the time: "Creating new work discipline, new forms of social ties among the people, new forms and methods for attracting men to work—that is a task of many years and decades."

If, for example, it only were a matter of providing the knowledge needed for it, of creating the proper consciousness of the value of discipline, we should have no problems anymore. We shall form firm habits in consciously observing order, safety and discipline only if the consciousness of one's personal responsibility for the social consequences of discipline violations also is buttressed by praise and censure, by the consistent application of the performance principle, by supervision, by the atmosphere in the work collectives, by appropriate working conditions which, as the SED Program states, "encourage joy in one's work, dedication and creativity as well as the working people's desire for order, safety and discipline."

[PHOTO CAPTION]

A single hall of the Schwarza chemical fibre combine contains values in the millions. Disorder and lack of discipline could cause enormous damage. Highest precision is wanted even for the smallest assortments.

NANDOR MAJOR POLEMICS WITH KANGRGA, COSIC, OTHERS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9, 10, 11 Feb 81

[Article by Nandor Major: "Once More on Current Ideological Relations in Culture"]

[9 Feb 81, p 10]

[Text] There is a nice tradition in the revolutionary working class movement which has frequently been used in the context of indirect "leadership": for the "organizational questions" of action by the progressive forces under conditions which are constantly changing to be raised in specific terms in the press and at public meetings in a democratic way, taking as points of departure the resolutions and guidelines adopted in the movement's organizations and organs. This form of clarification of current problems has always been used both by officials and by activists, but it has been rather neglected in recent decades. The term "organizational questions" refers to clarifications of social processes at a particular moment, assessments of the situation and of possible activities, examinations of circumstances and the ways in which particular efforts could or could not be realized, assessments of the balance of power and clarification of the real purport of various efforts under particular historical conditions--political-ideological issues, then, concerning the operational effort itself. General approaches have to be abandoned, and the situations and those involved have to be identified specifically. That makes this procedure one of the most effective public methods of furnishing activists the political-ideological resources they need.

The circumstance which led me to offer my article to BORBA is the need to awaken and speed up the self-management transformation in culture, conceived in the broadest sense, to overcome the lag. It is self-evident that a precondition for this is deeper social criticism based on the platform of the organized socialist forces. It has been shown--and this circumstance is not favorable to our effort--that two equally unacceptable attitudes toward social criticism are often encountered: some people blindly defend all current arrangements in society and by rejecting all criticism thrust us into a fruitless and dogmatic defensive attitude, while others rush forth with unsparing criticism of the status quo, supporting all manner of criticism regardless of the position from which it has been launched, and they open up our ranks to groups and individuals opposed to self-management.

The Line of Demarcation

But in the social campaign to carry out division of the development of socialist self-management, which is the rallying point of all progressive and creative forces of this society, a line of demarcation is subjectively being drawn thanks precisely to the activity of practical criticism, and each of us is being called upon to present his credentials once again at every point. So, no one can "imagine" or can draw in a subjectivist way the line which separates the self-management forces in a specific historical context from those which do not qualify, but rather one studies and learns this like any other objective thing that exists independently of what we think about it and whether we recognize it or not. So, in our debate--that also applies to this discussion of mine--the most important thing is not what I think about the matter, nor what is thought by someone else, nor even in what respect we differ, but what is actually the case. It is only that which justifies the debate. Awareness and recognition of the content and essence of this "delineation" is also one of the prerequisites for the development of democratic relations and creative progress in society.

Elucidation of all the relevant issues involved in our effort requires a comprehensive debate. Certainly even I myself have not said everything in my article which I consider relevant. It was my assumption that my article would motivate many people to reflect on these questions and that there would be reflections both along the same line and also reflections from positions opposed to mine. It is with pleasure that I have had occasion to read several articles in which I recognized the same intention which I pursued and efforts which were close to mine. I have also come upon several direct reactions, mainly negative, concerning certain partial questions which I raised. I will attempt to present my views in connection with some of these reflections, those which seem the most important at this point, and I will leave the others for another occasion.

Concerning the "Answer" of M. [Milan] Kangrga

I cited M. Kangrga's argument with S. [Stipe] Suvar about the New Left as an example of occasional "caviling opposition" down through the years which has no other purpose than to manifest precisely that kind of orientation. Let me remind my readers: I put two questions to M. Kangrga after first quoting the three sentences of his which follow: "Yet viewed in an historical context, this Old Leftism has so far appeared in its only form: either as Stalinism or as various currents in political ideology derived from it. This is another global situation, not one specific to Yugoslavia. Is this particular kind of 'Old Leftism' actually the position adopted when such persistent attacks are made on so-called 'New Leftism'?"

Though in that article of mine I did not enter into the truthfulness of the assertion that Stalinism is the point of departure and form taken by the Old Left, the purport of the questions I put to M. Kangrga was this: Does he really think, now that he has posed that dilemma today in the form of a question, that the dilemma of whether to stick with or to abandon Stalinism is relevant today for the League of Communists; and second, does M. Kangrga perhaps think that the New Left could serve the League of Communists as a refuge or sanctuary (since he eo ipso poses

the dilemma of remaining with and the possibility of abandoning Stalinism) when already in a construction in formal logic he has set it in opposition to the Old Left? Is it not more appropriate for Marxists to conduct an analysis as to what is being advocated in real social processes, *hic et nunc*, by the former and what by the latter?

Since in the "answer" M. Kangrga made to me in the columns of BORBA he groundlessly appealed to the Press Law, thereby creating the impression that he has been done injustice or that undemocratic relations prevail, I will first take up those questions which really have to do with his being addressed in my article, and only thereafter the questions which he raised independently of that, questions which, then, cannot be related in any manner at all to the provisions of the Press Law.

1) M. Kangrga devoted only the following words to the issues on which he was addressed: "... even now I affirm once again that the entire Old Left, including both the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has a Stalinist point of departure ... that is, more precisely: that is its historical origin, and that is no 'invention' of mine, nor any political trick of mine as a petty politician or caviling oppositionist, nor an antisocialist trick, but a generally recognized and commonplace historical fact."

M. Kangrga then informs me that if I "affirm the opposite," this "certainly would be something new," but I would then have to "revise the entire history of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]" and write an "altogether new history of the CPY and LCY."

The Anti-Stalinist Struggle of the CPY

However, the historical fact is that the historical origin of the CPY lies above all in the autochthonous revolutionary tradition of socialist movements in the lands of the South Slavs, movements which relied on Marxism, and then on Leninism as well, in the class-conscious groups of Social-Democratic parties and other socialist groups which were operative on the soil of Yugoslavia on the eve of the CPY's formation. The influence of Stalinism made its appearance much later, and though there were periods when its influence was strong, it was transient from an historical standpoint. It is also historical fact that it was the CPY which had the undisputed pioneering role in overcoming Stalinism, that it has been long since overcome within its own ranks, and that its struggle against Stalinism has a broader importance.

Certainly this does not mean that today there is no longer any danger whatsoever of neo-Stalinism in the League of Communists or in society. But one can only suppose the CPY's point of origin to be Stalinistic if one takes Marxism-Leninism for Stalinism--which in fact is done by reactionary authors in the world. So, M. Kangrga cannot find in the history of the LCY, except in some history which he might write himself, an assertion that the historical origin of the CPY is Stalinistic. If that is not his 'invention,' he is rightly reproached for having uncritically adopted pseudoscientific assertions and for having used them as well in his everyday ideological and political activity.

However, in his dispute with S. Suvar M. Kangrga stated not only that the point of origin of the Old Left was Stalinist, but also that the condition within it is Stalinist--a matter on which he did not utter a word in his "answer." This is obviously the case from the sentences of his we have already quoted: in three sentences he implicitly asserts precisely that three times.

When M. Kangrga states that Old Leftism "has up to now appeared in its sole form," this does not mean only the origin, but also signifies the present situation, and it therefore applies to the League of Communists as well. Likewise when he asserts that Old Leftism has so far been manifested only in its sole form, and in that connection cites two things, namely, "either as Stalinism or as various political-ideological currents deriving from it," he makes a distinction, then, between organizations of the Old Left and thus asserts that the League of Communists as well, and certainly including also the Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Trade Unions--since they cannot be classified in the New Left either--carry within themselves Stalinism, perhaps as an original sin of which one cannot be freed. And finally, when M. Kangrga asks "whether that particular Old Leftism is actually still being held to," he obviously thinks that there has not yet been any budging from that position, that this is the present situation, since he does not ask whether anyone wants to return Old Leftism to Stalinist positions.

Once again, then, we can conclude that in his polemics with S. Suvar M. Kangrga has taken the position that the League of Communists, by contrast with the New Left, is a Stalinist organization in its origin and in its present condition. Let the reader himself judge, then, what kind of position M. Kangrga's is.

2) M. Kangrga asserts that I wanted to report his "commitments" in his place, though I attempted to do what he himself did both with respect to Suvar and with respect to me: to ascertain his political-ideological position manifested through one specific statement. Since--as is well known--a man's consciousness of himself is one thing, and what he objectively does through his action is something else, people's real political-ideological position can be ascertained only by analyzing their actions and activities. This is the customary procedure, and therefore his exclamation that he "is not allowing" me to do that, without even asking whether he has the right to forbid me and to say which topics are taboo, is essentially an undemocratic and authoritarian act.

He Has Conceived How Marx "Thought"

No one called upon M. Kangrga to "declare" himself, but now that he has decided to do so, his "declaration" is worth examining. He made it in the first and second points of the "answer" addressed to me. He declares that he is a Marxist and a leftist and that he is not an oppositionist "either with respect to the working class ... or toward socialism and communism according to the thought and conception of Karl Marx."

We strive to fathom what Marx "thought" about socialism and communism, we are even convinced that we interpret him faithfully and correctly, but he [Kangrga], however, appears to be the only one who knows--in some mysterious way--what Marx thought. We have all been harboring the illusion that there are no longer any "true believers," and here is a man who asserts that he knows what Marx thought!

But is that actually the case, or is it only an empty declaration? Didn't Marx assert that communism as a movement had to have its vanguard which would blaze the trail for the remaining mass of the proletariat in the struggle for a classless society, and didn't he devote his entire life not only to equipping the working class with the knowledge for class struggle, but also to creating and developing his political organization?

It is clear that it is not possible to fight for communism in general, but only concretely, and this must always be *hic et nunc*. It is well known that the working class of Yugoslavia has achieved historically relevant results in the revolutionary transformation of Yugoslavia behind the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party. It is difficult to understand how a man who in his pronouncements considers himself to be a Marxist can "forget" to take a position with respect to the vanguard, i.e., and not attempt to "define" his attitude toward the League of Communists.

He might have said that he basically supports the policy of the League of Communists, or if that is not the case, that he does not, say, regard the League of Communists as the vanguard of the working class, or that the League of Communists is not performing its vanguard role, or that objectively there is no vanguard at present, or he could have said which forces he considers to be the vanguard. But not a word about all that. He probably has some reason which he considers sufficient to justify his indefinite attitude toward the League of Communists, but I do not wish to go into the question of what that reason is, nor to guess. Finally, it is the right of every man, M. Kangrga included, to refrain from stating his position on issues when he so desires. But it is also the indisputable right of everyone of us to point to his real position in his own declaration--when he has already taken it upon himself to make a declaration.

I therefore emphasize: either M. Kangrga does not understand Marx' "thought and conception" of socialism and communism, or he does understand it, but ignores it in his social behavior. To be sure, there is a traditional name in the revolutionary working class movement for those who ignore the everyday painful struggle of the vanguard, but deliver lectures to it from time to time from the vantage point of their desks. They are referred to as salon communists or armchair Marxists. So much for his declaration. However, M. Kangrga's position is altogether different in the statement which caused us to address him.

At this point we should indicate in passing that in the end M. Kangrga himself falls victim to his own construction, just as often happens with all those who instead of analyzing reality cram it into the Procrustean bed of their own theoretical construction. That is, he declares that he is not a New Leftist and that he has never spoken on behalf of any new class, which all this country's progressive people will take note of with satisfaction, prepared as they are to disregard certain earlier writings and statements of M. Kangrga, on the basis of which they had reason to think that he was at least very close to the New Left. They will do that in expectation that in his future statements he will offer more frequent occasions for them to see for themselves the truthfulness of these words of his.

The Old and New Left

So, even after a thorough critical analysis of the ideological-political essence of the New Left in Kardell's last book, M. Kangrga feels that the question of the New Left is still in need of a "frank and well-thought-out, clear and precise answer," and he therefore thinks that the New Left has always repeatedly wagging the tail of its opposite," and that is supposed to be the Old Left. So, the real content of these terms are not a sufficient reason for this, but names and constructs are. In this way we find that on the left there are the Old and New Left--and what else? Nothing. What other "opposite" is possible? None. But since the Old Left is Stalinist, the conclusion still holds that the New Left is the vehicle of progressive aspirations in our society. However, since M. K. is not a New Leftist, and asserts that "in this, as in many other things, I remain right in Marx' steps--and Old Leftists," isn't he at the same time saying that "in other things" he is himself a Stalinist and that "in Marx' steps" he is rushing to join the Stalinists? But it does not end even there. That is, the question is this: If he is not a New Leftist, and he is bound to the Old Left only in many things, what other space is it he sees that is mostly for himself? Won't that be outside the Left?

Certainly this reflects only on the absurdity of M. Kangrga's theoretical construct and speculative manner of thought.

4) It is also worth paying attention to how M. Kangrga has "cast" me as a spokesman of Stalinism and to why he has done so. The whole procedure begins with quoting the sentence of mine which follows: "The organized socialist forces will respect the commitment of any scientist and workingman to any scientific direction--structuralism, functionalism, positivism or any other basically progressive position that views the world of human freedom and freedom of creativity."

But M. Kangrga interrupted the quotation of my text in mid-sentence! The sentence continues this way: "... and will use and esteem each individual scientific work or piece of human knowledge depending on whether it offers relevant perceptions of reality thanks to the fact that in a particular way it has superseded the limitations which are otherwise inherent in the direction, method or view of the world with which they are associated."

According to Zhdanov's Recipe

Why didn't M. Kangrga quote the other part of the sentence as well? Because it is evident from that part that communists--and I among them--have certain reservations about those directions; certainly they do not regard them simply as a "progressive view of the world"--and that would get into M. Kangrga's way when in twisting my words he attributes precisely that. In the past decade particularly, when little groups opposed to self-management, above all technocrats and bourgeois liberals have abundantly used the methods of those scientific directions, communists have countless times pointed to the essential limitations of their basic premises, but they have always been firm in saying that this circumstance by no means signifies that every positivist work must necessarily be reactionary.

It is certain that only inveterate dogmatists would think of asserting the opposite of what I said: that scientists should not be permitted or should even be forbidden a commitment to positivism, functionalism and structuralism in the name of the freedom of creativity. And actually there already has been such a dogmatist who under the pretext that they represented "bourgeois formalism" did in practice prohibit these currents. His name was, of course, Zhdanov.

So why is it that M. Kangrga is not pleased with the broad platform of the League of Communists? Can it be that he favors the opposite political position, that is, a ban on those scientific currents? No, I am convinced that he shares our opinion in this respect. He seems to be bothered by the fact that we are not sectarians. Unable to criticize us for being sectarians and for banning positivism, functionalism and structuralism, he will assert--so that he can reproach us for something--that we consider those currents "progressive views of the world." And he adds immediately thereafter: this is presumably that "true class-party orientation and consistency of the communist ideological struggle that is supposed to prevail in the League of Communists"! He simply refuses to see the struggle of the League of Communists as it really is, and if necessary he is prepared even to twist clear positions solely in order to portray the struggle of the League of Communists the way he chooses to see it.

Should we take any notice at all of certain unworthy actions of M. Kangrga? Perhaps we should after all indicate one of them. That is, he allows himself a false identification, asserting that "Stalinism is one such ... as well as positivism and functionalism and structuralism." We would expect someone who lays claim to scientific dignity for his writings and statements would not make use of flagrant oversimplifications and half-truths. M. Kangrga nevertheless commits this error, as any reader can see for himself without difficulty.

In other words, Stalinism cannot be reduced solely to positivism, functionalism and structuralism, as is done by M. Kangrga, for the simple reason that it contains quite a few other elements as well. This can be seen from the fact, for example, that in Stalinist legal science and judicial practice there is not a trace of respect for the facts, which are so characteristic of the positivist spirit, without which positivism is even unimaginable, but on the contrary the basic characteristic of Stalinist jurisprudence is voluntarism. Nor, likewise, can the triad of positivism, functionalism and structuralism be identified solely with Stalinism, since in various ways they are incorporated into the foundations of European culture as a whole, and they have left a particularly deep trace, perhaps even the deepest trace, in Anglo-Saxon culture, but the basic characteristics of Stalinism are nevertheless not dominant in that culture.

Is there any connection whatsoever between all this and the question of whether cultural policy allows scientists to commit themselves to positivism, functionalism and structuralism or not? Of course not. This is only M. Kangrga's pretext for pointing his finger at us: "By that logic Stalinism, as well as all Western ideological and theoretical currents (oriented against socialism and Marxism) not only do not bother us, but according to him all this will be able to provide a new thrust in the struggle to build up new relations in culture...."

Though it is clear that I am bothered both by Stalinism and "Western" antisocialist currents, I am also bothered by attacks of this kind on the part of the "Marxist" Kangrga, who speaks loftily about positivism, but he himself should show more respect for the facts. He apparently does not care what it actually is that the activists of the organized socialist forces or advocates, regardless of what they say and write, they will "give proof," in other words, that they are Stalinists. This is the predetermined destiny of all those who dare to advocate the policy of the League of Communists. However, none of them need fear the label of Stalinism, nor by the same token granting concessions to bourgeois ideology, but should continue to fight consistently to carry out the policy of the League of Communists.

Bourgeois or Self-Management Relations?

5) The next point in dispute for M. Kangrga is this: Are bourgeois relations or the relations of self-management prevalent in our socialist society? In other words, M. Kangrga, who states that he is a member of the "present-day intellectual proletariat--wage workers," is surprised that I should criticize a young theoretician for defending the thesis that bourgeois relations and bourgeois ethics are dominant in our society. M. Kangrga does not mention--it obviously does not seem to him important--that that same young theoretician says that socialist relations and ethics can be expected only from some new class which is not yet self-conscious and which today is allegedly being manipulated in our society.

The premises of conceptions like these--held by M. Kangrga and that young theoretician--are that nothing has essentially changed in our society over the last four decades. However, M. Kangrga is no longer merely a wage laborer, but is involved in a process in which he is becoming an intellectual worker and self-manager, and this is objectively taking place regardless of what he thinks about it. Even those who subjectively take a position opposed to self-management are being led into such a position--though certainly in those relations there are also certain remnants of wage relations and elements of transformed wage relations. This also clarifies the question of whether bourgeois relations are predominant in our society or only more or less modified forms and remnants of bourgeois relations are present in the relations of socialist self-management, which are not any sort of fiction, but living reality.

When one reads M. Kangrga's "answer," he might get the idea that bourgeois relations will prevail not only in bourgeois society but also in the "transitional" society, all the way to communism, or, as he himself puts it, "actualized socialism," and they will disappear all at once, instead of accompanying us up to that point in varying degrees of intensity and manifestation. Yet there is one sentence of M. Kangrga's with which I almost agree: "accordingly the base from which we start is still that same bourgeois relationship as well." That "as well" is concealing something: the bourgeois relationship--and what other as well? What other could it be? This is precisely the relationship which in present-day social processes is becoming the dominant relationship in our society, the self-management relation, which M. Kangrga and other "oppositionists" ignore so obstinately.

6) M. Kangrga also acts as though he does not understand even the simplest thing and puts elementary questions, creating the opinion that the reader is confronted in my article with a contradictory and not fully stated position. For example, he is greatly amazed that anyone could declare himself to be an adherent of self-management and yet operate from positions opposed to self-management. This would be schizophrenia, derangement of the personality, a mad existence--laments M. Kangrga. As though he had not yet heard that one's consciousness of himself is one thing and the objective social significance of a concrete act something else. But aside from that there is also the deliberate concealment of one's conceptions. Has he really never met an iveterate technobureaucrat who is in favor of self-management only in words, but deliberately acts otherwise?

Or when the author of an article who addresses the activists of the organized socialist forces so as to step up a particular activity such that certain texts and writings may be used though their authors are "oppositionists"--does M. Kangrga really think that we should ask: "used in what sense, by whom and why"? Or perhaps the purport of that position seems unacceptable to him?

7) And in conclusion to take up M. Kangrga's assertion that in my article I "threaten" people with the League of Communists and also to his statement that 'he has no confidence' in me because I am doing what I am doing. In my article I wanted to encourage activists of the organized socialist forces to deepen their social criticism and to find creative solutions for the self-management transformation of culture. I can note with satisfaction that the activists--and I am aware of the opinions of many of them--did in fact take and experience it that way. But I knew that there would also be those who would see this as using the League of Communists as a "threat." There are "forces" for which any consistent effort by the League of Communists represents a narrowing of the room in which they have to operate, which accounts for the "threat." It is up to M. Kangrga to decide how he wants to take my article.

[10 Feb 81, p 10]

[Text] In the answer which Bora Cosic addressed to me in OMLADINSKE NOVINE, an article entitled "How To Fix Our Planos," there is one, but only one observation with which one can agree without reservation: that we should give up using figures of speech and allegories and little games in which other authors' sentences are taken out of context and arranged as it suits us in our text. The topics on which we disagree are too serious to be resolved by charming or precious exercises in style.

1) The basic disagreements between B. C. [Bora Cosic] and myself are not in our evaluation of particular events which have taken place since 1972, though even they are not insignificant. Nevertheless, those events can always be examined again one by one. Our basic disagreements are in our assessment of the entire period which began in 1972 and of the period which preceded it, which furnishes the only light in which the particular events can be evaluated.

I would remind my readers that the aggravated social processes and events which preceded the dramatic letter of Josip Broz and the Executive Bureau of the

Presidium of the LCY Conference, which was sent to the party rank and file at the "decisive moment"--as that historical moment in 1972 was referred to in the Letter, which the entire population accepted in a plebiscite--had a parallel in processes taking place in culture as well.

The Decisive Historical Moment

In the Letter the decisive character of the historical moment was emphasized in these dramatic words: "The essence of the issue is this: Is the working class to take command of the entirety of social reproduction and to secure a decisive role in political and social decision-making, or are those relations and forces which are opposed to the interests of the working class, socialism and self-management going to become stronger?"

In much the same way as party members fought in the worker amendments for the workers to become the decisionmakers in all social processes, but won the fight for the overall constitutional reform only after breaking down the strong resistance of all the forces opposed to self-management in 1972 and carried it out in 1974, a group of people working in the field of culture--party members and others, headed by Beno Zupancic, Stevan Majstorovic, Mladen Oljac, Teme Momirovski and Boris Majer fought both at the Zenica Conference on Culture as well as before that and thereafter for the conception that the associated workers, whose ranks also include workers in the field of culture, are to become the decisionmakers for all culture--and not just for culture to be made accessible to them, which was the demand of the technocrats and anarcholiberals which would mean that the workers, including workers in the field of culture, would be tutored by a mysterious and undefined group of the "elect," some sort of elite, that is, which would arbitrarily impose itself as the decisionmaker in culture.

The battle was fought for the workers and workers in culture and for culture and creativity to rid themselves of these menaces, and a new conception of the development of culture was worked out, once again only after breaking down the resistance of the forces opposed to self-management in 1972, and it was adopted at the 10th LCY Congress, again in 1974.

It is sufficient to recall certain facts, though even in a fragmentary way. In the events which took place in 1968, 1971 and 1972, which differed in their character, but in which the voice of reactionary elements was always to be heard, along with that of others, and in the events before that and thereafter there were writers and other workers in culture who committed their pen and organizational abilities on the side of groups of various stripes were opposed to self-management.

Is it even necessary to recall the messianic-nationalistic statement by Dobrica Cosic and Mihailo Djuric and the chauvinist-firebrand articles, essays and even short novels of Gotovac and Segedin?

It is well known that aggressive groups attempted as bearers of statist-bureaucratic, technomanagerial, nationalistic or New Left tendencies to seize certain positions in certain cultural and scientific institutions, journals and newspapers, in which they were at times even successful for a time, using them as points from

which they would carry on deliberate and systematic political gunfire, wage assaults on the policy of the League of Communists and organize manhunts against Marxists and progressive workers in the field of culture.

Does anyone need to be reminded that for a time there were attempts--this is only one of the examples--to use the Serbian Literary Cooperative in this manner and even to alienate the Matica Hrvatska to such an extent that it broke off this effort only after it was dissolved.

Is there any need to recall that certain collaborators of PRAXIS were regularly using the journal to defend certain superseded relations in their "studies" which actually were political pamphlets and were "unsparingly" attacking those whose development the League of Communists was advocating? Didn't a group of professors of philosophy and sociology in Belgrade attempt to turn their university departments into an exercise ground for a similar political activity of caviling opposition?

Surely people have not already forgotten that at that time even Marxism had been cast out of the schools and a fight had to be waged to get it back in.

Do we have to cite all those painful cases and the names of those involved, cases which more and more became the expression and determinant of the state of mind and state of culture in the period which preceded 1972? That period was fraught with manifestations of abuse of artistic, scientific and cultural creativity to benefit retrograde and even reactionary social forces as well as with degradation of science and art to become the most commonplace lackeys of a factional day-to-day politics--even by people who before that and thereafter were fighting so zealously against that malicious phenomenon. Is there really any need to cite those who ruin their talent by putting it at the service of shallow ideas, to recall the nameless assailants, most of them young, who, seduced and sacrificed by the irresponsible "cultural leaders," who in reality were elitist usurpers of cultural power, afterwards searched for years and had great difficulty finding their identity and their place in the ranks of the organized socialist forces.

What is the overall evaluation that has been made of the efforts and activities of all those little groups and adherents of widely differing directions in political ideology after they were analyzed one by one in the document entitled "Policy and Tasks of the League of Communists in the Field of Culture and Science," which was written in 1974? "Each of these antisocialist and antiself-management tendencies displays in its own way the same aspiration to transform intellectual work and creative activity into a means of pursuing interests and goals which are profoundly alien to creativity."

Where Was B. Cosic?

And where was B. Cosic in those upheavals? "Well, that was a period in which several of us were working rather independently," he declared in an interview which led me to address him. "I am thinking of the period 1968-70. In any case, 68 was an important moment in my people's development, and it seems to be in mine as well.... Several of us were quite committed that year, and indeed later; I worked,

for instance, on the journal *KIX* (Initiation), which had a subsidy at the outset, but later we published it ourselves.

What is the principal lesson for the League of Communists when it examines the "cultural situation" at that time and what is the correct development of that moment? "The field of culture cannot be used as an area for promoting self-management and socialist humanism, because the ideological struggle against the negative tendencies and manifestations in culture and art was inadequate, there has in this past period been a restoration of many values and criteria of the bourgeois world, all the way to petty bourgeois tendencies in a portion of the culture front, which have seriously threatened even creativity itself and also basic socialist ideals and criteria in culture," states the Platform for Preparation of the 10th LCY Congress.

After 1972 these negative processes receded into the background, as did those who participated in these processes as well, and processes in which the associated workers were becoming the decisionmakers in culture and the participants in these processes burnt into the foreground. Culture thereby began to rid itself of those who in its name had actually been attempting to hamper its development, and room began to be created for it to develop on a broader basis.

And how does B. C. look on all these processes? In the period which preceded 1972 he sees no "problems" at all, but sees them only thereafter. "Of course, in the period since 1972 there had been many problems," he declares in the interview which led me to address him. He regards the processes that began that year as fundamentally negative and he refers to them as a cultural revolution. "I must say that since 1972 and in the last few years we have had a mild form of the cultural revolution, regardless of how it may later come to be evaluated and identified," B. C. says.

But even that does not satisfy him. He has described our "cultural revolution," that is, the effort carried on by the League of Communists since 1972, as something which occurred without any warranted cause whatsoever, as something which does not possess any sort of purpose in the realm of principles. "Anything can be refuted and twisted in its meaning and significance provided there is a climate which allows this, and that is exactly what has happened in certain periods of our development, both cultural and social," B. C. writes. Is this not a cynical attitude toward the actions of the organized socialist forces?

The 10th Congress Has Not Been Disavowed

Unlike me B. C. wants to describe the entire present stage not on the basis of a fundamental process which is taking place in culture (he apparently does not believe that this process even exists in reality, but sees only endeavors consistent with the "pragmatic requirement of the times"), and which casts the only light in which it is possible to evaluate the manifestations he refers to, things which in that period supposedly "were detrimental to our culture." On the contrary, he wishes to evaluate the character of this entire period exclusively on the basis of "real facts" and "historically sound documentation," which he acknowledges to be such. After shouting in the answer addressed to me that we cannot turn the

cultural situation into a "game of hide and seek" and after citing several cases which during our supposed cultural revolution "were detrimental to our culture," he exclaims: "Is it a fact or not that... Is it or not?" And I now ask: What are we to do with the rest of the facts? Are the cases the League of Communists has been pointing to facts and in the conception of the development of culture built on the truth or on lies? "If we wish to carry on a conversation, we must consent to the truth about a period of time" is the demand and condition stressed by B. C. So, the conditions for a "conversation" are already being identified--but they can also be escalated. And "the truth about a period of time," that period after 1972, is nothing other but what he asserts it to be! We would have to consent to his truth at the outset. It is just too bad about the facts which contradict that truth of his!

He wants to take up where he left off a decade ago. He declares for all practical purposes that the policy of the League of Communists affirmed at the 10th LCY Congress has come to an end. In the interview which I refer to he said the following: "So, a kind of historical justice is achieved faster than we think. Even in less than 10 years a turnabout like that has taken place in the same country, in the same social circumstances." Now in the answer addressed to me he writes that "all other meddling, meandering and tacking" which does not take into account his "historically sound documentation" may experience "and I think it is already experiencing its defeat with the people."

However, up to now not a single meeting of either communists or self-managers has disavowed the policy set forth at the 10th LCY Congress. The question arises whose policy the people are actually following by granting their assent? Is it the policy of the League of Communists or the policy of B. C.? Do not all these facts in and of themselves not indicate the kind of position taken by B. C.?

2) Here is how B. C. formulates his credo as an artist: "An artist must be unsuitable, since it is the purpose of his task to attempt with unsuitable means to win the battle for certain truths which are yet to come." No, it is not a mistake, that is really what he thinks: "I think in fact that the artist's task is devoted to exposing a number of dubious things." Take it for just one more mystification of the artistic vocation, of which there is certainly an ample number, including some similar to this one! It is evident that this is a mystification from the mere fact that many people have devoted their entire lives to investigating "dubious things," just as he is recommending, with "unsuitable means," but they have never managed to create anything that could be considered artistic by any sort of esthetic criteria. It seems that art does after all demand something else! Had B. C. remained in the purely artistic domain, this "credo" would not even be worth our attention.

Which Generation Is That Which Has Been Forgotten?

However, B. C. addresses this instruction to the young generation of filmmakers, which he scolds for being "very polite, for being well-mannered," for being "suitable in the extreme," stating that "this kind of suitability is not good for art." And why does he do this? Because it angers him that this generation has supposedly been "accepted" and because it "likes to be referred to as the renaissance

of the Yugoslav film." And where is the sin in this "reference"? Why have we "very easily ... forgotten two or three particular things and individuals" in our cinematography, and taken up a generation "which in its length and breadth cannot be measured against the generation of 19 years ago"? Does B. C. set in opposition to this young generation the generation of 19 years ago and exhibit it as a model? He does indeed. So which generation is it that has been forgotten? No generation, only allegedly "two or three particular things and individuals" from one of the generations. Why does he wish to impose on us the problem of generations when there is none? No one knows. Was it perhaps those "two or three" individuals who were guided by the principles of existing artistic things, "merely with 'unsuitable means'"? It seems that they were. Doesn't this account for the apologetic attitude which B. C. takes toward those "artistic" principles? Perhaps, how is one to know?

And did the following words from the document "Policy and Tasks of the League of Communists in the Field of Culture and Science" perhaps apply to those "two or three individuals"? "In this context there was the Black Wave in the film, to some extent in literature and the drama. In certain works, which passed for art, there were flagrant attempts to discredit the revolution and its achievements in the name of 'demystification.' This kind of oppositionist and counterrevolutionary aspirations were encouraged for a time even with public recognition and prizes."

Weren't there writers last year who attempted to justify a film which discredited the revolution as a "demystification" and who demanded at the top of their lungs that it be given a public prize? Is there no need any longer to combat this kind of thing?

If the words quoted should by some chance apply to those "two or three individuals" whom B. C. sets up as an example for young talent, is he then not directing them onto a road which leads into conflict with society? Is what B. C. advocating "purely" artistic? I leave it to the readers themselves to judge.

3) I agree with the assertion which was expressed a few days ago that no one in our society has been prosecuted because of cultural creativity, because of his conceptions of culture and art, nor because of the artistic message contained in his work. There have been conflicts because of political activity inconsistent with the principles of the self-management system which was screened behind artistic values and which are passed off for culture. But the degree of those conflicts has always depended as well on the circumstances we found ourselves in. The works of today's authors, both domestic and foreign, have still been published even though they were burdened with certain conceptions alien to socialism--if they had artistic and scientific values. There will continue to be such books in the future.

And the artistic values of the works of B. C. will be esteemed by the working people, the writer of these lines among them, in spite of the repulsive positions which B. C. takes toward the policy which the working people are following and in spite of the fact that his views are sometimes expressed even in his artistic works. One reason they do so is because the artistic work of B. C., thanks to the

values which it possesses, is objectively a part of the cultural legacy of our socialist community regardless of the kind of political attitude he displays toward the aspirations of this community--but certainly those writings in which culture serves him only as a screen for oppositionist political activity are not becoming a part of that legacy.

"Blaming" Society and the League of Communists

In his interview B. C. seemed in a rather general way to be blaming society, the League of Communists or "someone else" for certain events of past years which, as he now puts it, "have been detrimental to our culture." In the answer which he has now addressed to me, using the time-tested method of escalation, he has expanded some of those issues and put them in concrete terms. He is blaming all those who at one time questioned his novel "The Role of My Family in the World Revolution," saying that this "work is an antisocialist pamphlet"; those who canceled the production of the adaptation of the book for the theater, and those who supposedly drew up the list of plays which were not approved, comrades, an actress and a professor of dramatic arts; those who prevented the showing of the film adaptation of that novel, and in particular the producer of that film, for having clarified and justified their actions. He is also blaming the organization of the League of Communists in Valjevo for having clarified and justified the action of the active party members belonging to the committees of the opstina assembly who supported the initiative to retract the literary prize awarded to Mirko Kovac.

I think the participants in the events will themselves offer him an explanation.

4) All of us, both individuals and editorial offices, have access to the facts and evidence of the facts and interpretations of the facts not only of one author, namely myself, but of a number of other authors and indeed organizations. If anyone wants to see or to neglect certain facts--it is not just a question of exactness, but also of ideological commitment and political views. The view which B. C. takes of the cultural situation before and after 1972 is not merely a question of facts, but also of the respect which is paid them. If the editors of OMLADINSKE NOVINE, as they have now declared in the article by the editors, sound no "bad intentions" on the part of B. C. anywhere in that interview, if they are not aware of what criteria were used as the basis for my "proclaiming" his statement oppositionist (but it appears that they nevertheless "know" that I am not presenting the true state of affairs, but rather "proclaiming"); if they expect that "oppositionist" is to be "confirmed"--then they will have a long time to wait, since in our society decisions on this are not being issued, nor will anyone "enlighten" anyone, not even the editors of a journal, so that they "see the light."

[11 Feb 81, p 10]

[text] My readers are probably familiar with the polemical method whereby one first offers the "characteristics" of something in general form, uses big words, brings down heavy judgments, and then cites as an example a specific case which (line of text missing in original--translator's note) of the polemic and serious judgments are also brought down, but they pertain to other matters. The question immediately arises of whether the words which formally apply to the "general thing"

are actually directed toward the person cited as the specific example? Formally they are not, but in reality they are: the readers will take it as though the entire text pertained to the person specifically addressed. It will be assumed that the second part applies specifically to me, and the first applies in principle.

In a polemic conceived in this way *Levin Erik* has in *MLADOST* raised two questions: the inadvisability of individuals acting in the name of a forum, officeholders in particular, and second, the quality of such actions in our society.

Thus the opinion is expressed that when a forum wants to "debate" something of importance to current policy through the statements of individuals on its behalf, often "a difficulty arises," since "such statements by certain people not uncommonly do more harm than good," and then he poses the question of "whether polemics with such a statement are needed at all or even politically justified," and he immediately answers in the negative.

This is the part argued in principle. But concretely he says that it is "absolutely necessary to establish that they (that is, my judgments--M. N.) set down by the pen of Nandor Major, a citizen who has the right to his opinion, along with the assurance that those same assertions might be dressed in the cloak of a political organization in which Citizen Major has an important position," and he ultimately cautions: "Fortunately we have gotten beyond the time of homogeneity (monolithism) in thought, and therefore it is not insignificant at all what officials have to say in public and how they present and argue their opinions and statements."

In principle, when the positions of the League of Communists are expressed only through directives or individuals, and the mass of people have only passively carried out what has been ordered, this has been the worst possible situation. But as a practical matter all those who work to carry out the policy of the League of Communists are also acting in its name. If the statements of individual members, activists and officials depart from the real political commitments of the organization or of their own forums--we have seen it rather frequently--they are compelled to correct their views publicly, and they are often replaced or expelled.

Open Debate of Differences

So, though personal statements by an activist cannot be identified with the positions of a political organization, especially not with those official positions, we do normally suppose that they are following the line of the political organization. Personal expression on the part of an activist or official is an established and inevitable form of political work; if a political organization wishes to operate only in meetings and only by means of strictly formulated positions, resolves and resolutions, it would inevitably become bureaucratic and would quickly become paralyzed and ruined.

But just because monolithism is not required in an organization does not mean that all differences of view can exist in it, nor does it mean that anyone can interpret party policy as he wishes, but rather that the differences are openly debated and eliminated in order to build up unity in action, that democratic relations

prevail, that initiative is demanded, and that all members of the organization have equal opportunities to contribute to the construction of the party policy, which is not "invented," but is developed on the basis of the documents of the organization and the political situation. Monolithism is harmful, but one cannot do without unity.

For all these reasons the assessment that presentation of the positions of the League of Communists on various current issues through "official spokesmen" is not politically justified is an unrealistic judgment, and it is a requirement that could not be met in practice. Indeed the very judgment is based on the unsupported assertion that statements of this kind "not uncommonly do more harm than good," which then imposes the unstated, but assumed judgment that fairly often they help more than they hurt.

Concretely, however, the question arises why the polemicist is so apodictic in his belief that it is "absolutely necessary to establish" that the judgments which I express are my private opinions and have no connection whatsoever with the organization in which I am an official, and a separate question of why the polemicist believes that no one other than he himself is called upon to "ascertain" this. Why does he suppose it is his right to act as an arbiter between the League of Communists and myself when neither the League of Communists nor I have given any signs whatsoever that we are in partnership, nor that there are disputes between us--and how is it that he thinks that he is that institution that stands above the League of Communists which on its own initiative is to "ascertain" the alleged "discrepancy" and render judgments on this?

If the polemicist thought that my views should be treated like the views of any other citizen--then we are in agreement, since that is precisely what I myself demand. Finally, this democratic debate itself proves that very thing. But if he really thinks that my views depart from the policy of the League of Communists--then there are party organizations and forums which indeed can look into this. We can all present arguments and opinions on whether someone's views depart from the policy of the League of Communists or not, but only the organization can "ascertain" this.

Arrogation of Democracy

2) In principle the polemicist says, apodictically once again, that the statements by individuals on behalf of our organization are characteristically "extremely general and bandy about unsupported judgments and even certain formulations which have been superseded and at the very least are not the most fortunate for this democratic time." He himself does not furnish arguments, but he is now demanding this of others. He also accuses others of using "extreme generality," but in the same sentence he himself is satisfied with a general, but sweeping judgment that these others are also using "superseded formulations" in a democratic context, but he omits to say which formulations these are and who is using them. Perhaps those formulations are not superseded after all, but only seem so to him.

Concretely, however, the reason why the polemicist thinks that it is "absolutely necessary to ascertain" the private nature of my judgments allegedly lies in the

following: "After all, even in the case mentioned (a critical reference to the presentation of an important award to the Ljubljana group "Pankrti" ["The Bastards"]) and then to a reflection about "suitable writers and domestic 'dissidents'") quite a few assertions and judgments were uttered--as though with a hatchet."

So, my entire article and the assessment of the present situation, as well as what pertains to our oversights and the attempt to concretize the broad platform of the organized socialist forces at the present historical moment and the part which pertains to upcoming tasks--should be filed away in the private sphere, and I should be disqualified--this is presumably an expression for when someone is deprived of the right to speak on behalf of his "team"--because of three things: because of "Pankrti," because of "unsuitable" writers, and because of domestic "dissidents."

So what is his objection to these disputed parts of my article? That they were uttered "as though with a hatchet." Doesn't the polemicist cite other arguments as well? No, he doesn't! Does he think after all that the kind of accusation he is making--"as though with a hatchet"--is sufficient for disqualification? It seems that he does.

But can it be that the polemicist did not see that there is not a word in my article about writers as writers, and especially not about "unsuitable writers"? Likewise, can he have overlooked that I did not write a single word about "domestic dissidents," but about little caviling oppositionist groups, which, I am deeply persuaded, is not the same thing, what then still remains?

Making Fun of the Revolution

Yes, "Pankrti." But my readers recently had occasion to read in a newspaper the text of some of the songs of this ensemble. Anyone could see for himself that the song "Total Revolution" or "Count on Us" (a parody of that well-known song), for example, are actually a case of making fun of the revolution and of those who are loyal to its tradition. These texts have no connection whatsoever with the songs of certain rock musicians in which "certain of our inconsistencies and weaknesses are criticized"--as one of the polemicists has informed me--and which are then preferred to the "mockish and empty texts which in essence glorify the attitudes of the petit bourgeoisie." But even if a majority of the songs of "Pankrti" were different, they are still symptomatic. In essence both mockish and critical texts can be an expression of one and the same petit bourgeois attitude, that is, these latter are an expression of petit bourgeois caviling. In the songs of "Pankrti" we have mentioned that is precisely what is glorified. After all there seem to be differences from one criticism to another. As an example--so that we might be more convincing--we are printing here a text of "Pankrti" which was even published in a review:

No hope anymore, a tank ran her down,
what else can we do but "whip" the bench
no more hope, no more people
no more courage, we're alone.

That's why we're pretty, pretty and empty
 but we don't give a damn!
 No more action, we scare you
 why shouldn't we pretend
 you want us to be just like you.
 No more sense, you took it away
 why should we pretend when we are your sons.
 No point at all anymore, only lies
 no more music, it's your fault!
 No more action, you took away our personality
 it was you old man who killed us
 which is why we're pretty, pretty and empty
 but we don't give a damn.

And as far as those who award prizes are concerned, it is not indispensable that awards be made "under the pressure of oppositionists," it is sufficient for consideration not to be given as to how they will be categorized on the basis of their decision; it is not the same thing to have two or three similar cases or to become the 10th in a row--ultimately this is precisely how cases become trends. The earlier "sectarianism" of the youth organization toward rock musicians is not being superseded by an insufficiently critical attitude toward those in whose ranks there are overtones of "oppositionism," but by awards such as the prestigious award dedicated to the "Seven SKOJ [Yugoslav Communist Youth League] Secretaries" being presented to those rock musicians whose songs contain messages, as asserted by the polemicists in question, which have "even been mentioned in the political studies of youth officials."

Cultural Policy Is Not Petit Bourgeois Spontaneity

So if the concrete, though unsupported reproaches of the polemicist--as we see--are unjustified, what does he really want? He wants individuals to stop stating the views of the League of Communists and for everyone's attitude to be viewed solely as his private opinion. But won't this make a situation in "public cultural life" where there is only an undifferentiated multitude of private opinions of citizens, while the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces would have access only through official communications? Wouldn't this mean that in that "arena" cultural policy would be shaped by the "free play of different interests," in fact by petit bourgeois spontaneity, in which the progressive and retrograde positions have by definition the same opportunity, and in which the leading role of the League of Communists is reduced to the role of a counselor which sends in its written messages "from outside."

Wouldn't this for all practical purposes prevent the League of Communists from operating as an internal force? After all, when delegates of the League of Communists in the institutions of the political system in all domains of public life, including culture, can speak on behalf of the League of Communists, is it only in "public cultural life" that there is a ban preventing the League of Communists from expressing its views through individuals as well as in other ways? Whose space is going to be narrowed by this, and whose space is going to be expanded? What kind of "democratic relations" is our polemicist arguing for?

But having seen that the interest of these and certain other polemicists was aroused by only those parts of my article which pertained to little "oppositionist" groups and which signified a concretization of general positions--we are forced to the conclusion that people are perhaps in favor of concretization only in words, and that they prefer to look for "opponents" of that little groups opposed to self-management should be sought somewhere else than where I see them--or there aren't any such forces at all.

The latter, however, would be only an empty illusion. One of the basic warnings in Kardelj's last book has to do with the need to build firm mechanisms through which we can defend the achievements of our society against all of sorts by the "forces" opposed to self-management. Those "forces" do objectively exist, and that is why they need to be identified. There is quite a bit of room here both for me and for other activists. But commitment is needed to take up this job.

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